

A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
INTERPRETATION AND POLICY IN
KAESŎNG, DPR KOREA
AND THEIR POSSIBLE IMPACT ON INTER-KOREAN
RAPPROCHEMENT

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I, Ruth Scheidhauer confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Scheidhauer', followed by a horizontal line.

ABSTRACT

Korea's dividing ideologies of the past century, and the dominant efforts to legitimise the respective political agendas of the two States, have had an impact on the interpretation of, and the choice of focus within, cultural heritage and history. Cultural heritage policies are part of this particular historical narrative, reflected in heritage interpretations and activities. Whereas the socio-political studies of unification focus on a territorial unification, an approach coming from cultural heritage has the potential advantage of being able to focus on congruence through common roots, views of history and cultural values. Through an analysis of historical events and cultural heritage in the North Korean border town Kaesŏng, the research highlights the contribution of cultural heritage to past, present and future national perceptions. It also explores the impact that current socio-political developments have in turn on cultural heritage interpretations.

Cultural heritage has not been, and will not to be, the major player in rapprochement politics practiced in South or North Korea. However, as a medium for collective memory and reflection, it can be a useful tool of rapprochement. Although heavily regulated by political agendas, recent joint Korean excavations in Kaesŏng, and one-day tourism tours for South Koreans to the site, provided an unique chance to observe the beginning of historical reflection on contested, compromised and shared cultural interpretations. For a time, the convergence of diverse and shared interpretations provided for the first steps towards mutual recognition and acknowledgement: that activities need to be continued.

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SPELLING OF KOREAN NAMES

Throughout the thesis Korean names and terms are transliterated according to the McCune-Reischauer system. The only exceptions are:

- 1) The names of authors and personalities who have already transliterated their Korean names in English language publications. The order of names follows the Korean practice of placing the surname first, followed by the forenames.
- 2) Institutions or companies that have provided an official English translated name.
- 3) Commonly known/ used place and personal names, such as Seoul (Sŏul) or Kim Il Sung (Kim Ilsŏng).

For the convenience of readers with and without Korean language knowledge, the names of places (for example, temples and mountains) are transcribed with their suffix (e.g. -sa (temple) or -san (mountain), in addition to the English translation.

In referring to Korean newspaper articles, dates are given according to Korean convention; for example, the 1st February 2011 as 2011.02.01.

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I INTRODUCTION

I.I RESEARCH AIMS

This thesis is based on an understanding that cultural heritage is an essential component of civil society and social relationships in the present. As a medium for collective memory and reflection, the material remains of past societies can either divide people or encourage a sense of collective understanding about their identity and roots.

The fragility of the narratives of the past recounts the tangled relationship between history and desired ideology. Cultural heritage interpretation and its narratives is an explicit and implicit tool to (re-)build political legitimacy of a favoured party and deconstruct the one of the enemy. Depending on the ideology the cultural narrative is to support, particular sets of heritage interpretation may be emphasised and provoke preservation and restoration that connect to the powerful cultural symbolisms in the past to built political legitimacy.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate Korean cultural heritage, and the wider political consolidations or changes its interpretations has provoked, or might do so in the future. The research aims to:

- 1) understand the recursive relationship between national identity and cultural heritage interpretations, and
- 2) highlight the contribution of cultural heritage to past, present and future national identifications and the impact that current socio-political developments have in return on cultural heritage interpretations.

Using a historical background to the particular (political) applications of heritage in Korea, the research explores these issues through attitudes to cultural heritage in the North Korean border town of Kaesŏng, the capital of Korea through most of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392 CE). To achieve this, the research:

- 3) explores the interpretative narratives that evolve around cultural heritage being made, remade, discovered, forgotten or appropriated over the course of time.

In contemporary Korea, after over sixty years of territorial division and with two states with opposing ideologies, many still recall a cultural national narrative of unification. One essential argument for national unification is the idea that shared ancient historic roots have continued to shape a specific and homogenous group, the Korean nation. It is thus the cultural nation identity that is the driving force in reconciliation politics (see Chapter II.I.i). In this context, the specific problematic of a divided Korea, a further research aim is to:

- 4) identify the value of cultural heritage for rapprochement between divergent group identities, as reflected in state policies, professional cultural cooperation and activities, and the popular dissemination of heritage and engagement.

If a common culture is an integral part of the states' unification rhetoric, the research leads to the following questions:

- 1) How can cultural narratives, interpretations and activities be used for rapprochement, and how effective is their contribution?
- 2) What is the link between cultural heritage, ideology and socio-political aspirations for nation-building and political rapprochement, and how can and do these influence politics?
- 3) If 'national' cultural heritage is called upon in either of the two Korean states, does the national encompass the whole Korean nation or does it exclusively refer to the respective Korean nation-states?
- 4) Which cultural narratives and interpretations are employed in the argument for unification, and which state internal cultural appropriations are detrimental to it?

I.II THE SELECTION OF KAESŎNG AS A CASE STUDY



Figure 1: Map of the Korean peninsula (University of Texas Libraries)

I.II.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to examine the cultural policies and the interpretation of heritage, the research took the medieval Korean capital of Kaesŏng, in today's Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), as a case study (Figure 1).

Kaesŏng 開城¹ is a town rich in symbolism for Korean unification. As the capital of the first unified Korean kingdom, the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392 CE), and given its close location to the

¹ Throughout history the town of Kaesŏng was known and referred to by different names. In 555 CE Kaesŏng came under Silla's territory where a castle was built in 694. In the Koguryŏ period it was known as Tongbihol 冬比忽 until 757, when it was named Kaesŏng-gun 開城郡 by Silla King Kyŏngdŏk Wang 景德王. According to

current border between North and South Korea, as well as its territorial rights that shifted from the Republic of Korea (ROK) to the DPRK after the Korean War, Kaesŏng has served as a space for inter-Korean political meetings and other joint Korean initiatives. These have included the development of an economic free zone, cross-border tourism, and joint North and South Korean archaeological excavations: all of which are explored in this thesis.

Kaesŏng, therefore, is an illuminating study for various cultural heritage and political issues, which enables us to explore how Kaesŏng's cultural heritage has been prone to simultaneously mediate overlapping and divergent group memories and identities.

Two key issues in the selection of this case study were its role in recent history (section I.II.ii) and the development of the 'Kaesŏng project' (section I.II.iii). The latter also encompasses a number of pragmatic issues of access and engagement for the author.

the historical record *Samguksagi* the city was called Songak 松嶽. Under the name Songak Kaesŏng served as the capital for Kim Kungye's kingdom of Later Koguryŏ from 898-905, where he had the Kaesŏng castle built, the so-called *palŏch'amsŏng* 拔禦塹城, known today as Manwŏltae. In 935, as the capital of Koryŏ, the two old districts Songak-gun and Kaesŏng-gun were merged to Kaesŏng-bu 開城府. Under King Kwangjong in 960 its name was changed to Kaegyŏng 開京, Imperial Capital (Hwangdo 皇都) and then again to Kaesŏng under King Sŏngjong in 995. During the Chosŏn period in 1394, when the capital was moved to Seoul, it was referred to as Kaesŏng, Songdo (松都 City of Pine) and Chunggyŏng 中京.

I.II.II HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For nearly five hundred years Kaesŏng served as the capital of the Koryŏ dynasty, its kingdom covering the territory of today's ROK and most of the DPRK. Nearly the same territorial lines were kept in the succeeding Chosŏn period (1392-1910) and the Japanese Occupation period (1910-1945) so that over the course of roughly a thousand years a Korean state –nation identity could take shape. With the end of World War II the victorious allies regulated Korean liberation from the Japanese Empire on 15 August 1945. Korea was divided along the 38th parallel in military surrender zones that by the end of the same year emerged into trusteeship administrations of the Soviet Union in the North and a US American in the South. For a short time, Kaesŏng close at the 38th parallel was set into the southern US American controlled zone. After the newly drawn ceasefire line established after the truce of the Korean War in 1953, Kaesŏng was incorporated in the northern territory. Since then, Kaesŏng has been located just a few kilometres north of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), and the Korean peninsula has been divided by two different state ideologies, communism in the North, and a capitalist society in the South. Although more than half a century has passed, the two Koreas technically still remain at war as the armistice agreement signed on 27 July 1953 has not yet been replaced by a peace treaty.

Nevertheless, beginning in the mid-1990s there have been a series of peace initiatives that particularly started to develop since the Seoul government's 'Sunshine Policy' (*Haetpyŏt chŏngch'aek* 햇볕 정책) of engagement with the North in 1998. Introduced under South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, and continued by his successor Roh Moo-hyun, the policy resulted in greater political contact between the two Korean states and some historical moments for the Korean peninsula. Especially the historical inter-Korean summit with the two Korean leaders Kim Jong Il and Kim Dae-jung in Pyongyang in June 2000 (and a second one in October 2007) broke ground for several high-profile business ventures, as well as brief meetings of separated family members.

In the same year of the first inter-Korean summit in June 2000 the founder of South Korea's biggest private company Hyundai, a native from what today is North Korea, met with Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang to lay ground for the generous development of the tour business to Mount Kŭmgang-san (Diamond Mountains) at the eastern side of the borderline and the industrial complex in Kaesŏng at the western side. Kaesŏng's logistically practical location close to the inner-Korean border and only one hour car drive away from Seoul, as well as its relative

distance to the North Korean mainland allowed for the development of the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone (KIZ), a free-trade zone southeast outside its ancient city walls that was first announced in August 2000 (Figure 2).²

These projects were backed by the ROK government that considers the two projects in North Korea, which it both funds with subsidiaries, as the key icon of rapprochement. This is one of the main reasons why it insisted to keep them going despite inter-Korean tensions.

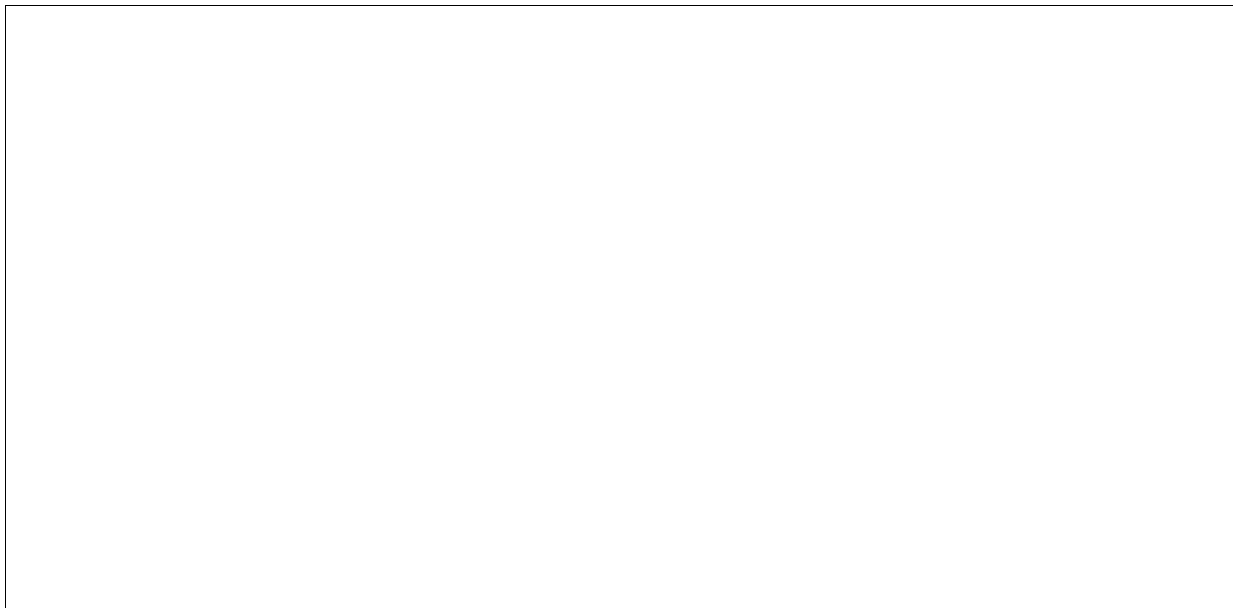


Figure 2: Location of important cultural sites around Kaesŏng and the sites of joint Korean cooperation close to the inner-Korean border, the KIZ and Manwŏltae palace

The city of Kaesŏng and its development as part of the industrial complex carries high hopes for all stakeholders, due to its unique location, history and legacy (*The People's Korea*, 2000.07.08). Apart from the rich cultural remains of the historic unified Korean capital in and around the city, Kaesŏng has proved until today as a significant cultural, economic and political centre.

² The KIZ is built and paid for by South Korean companies with governmental sponsorship with interest in short transport ways, cheap labour and economic exchange and political cooperation with North Korea. North Korea in turn receives currency for the land lease and through the wages.



Figure 3: Kaesŏng, truce talks in a former Kisaeng tea house in July 1951 (U.S. Department of Defense, National Archives)

Renowned for its past of economic prosperity, an image which is relived in the new Industrial Zone, Kaesŏng is a centre of collective historic legacies. It has been a locality for inter-Korean meetings, like the first Truce Talks at the end of the Korean War (1950-53) that took place in an old tea-house (Figure 3), the cultural exchange in form of the handing over of the monument looted by Japanese and repatriated through South Korea in 2006, as well as the meeting place for National Museum Directors of both Koreas in March of the same year. However, since the nuclear crisis in 2006 the projects have come under sharp criticism for financing North Korea's armaments. Finally the 'Sunshine

Policy' came to its end with the ROK presidency of Lee Myung-bak in 2008, but some of the cooperative initiatives have survived so far.

Particularly in the South Korean media, the new economic exchange and cooperation in the KIZ has been propagated as the rapprochement tool par excellence.³ Like the KIZ economic development, the tourist tour opening in 2006 with interruptions until the end of 2008 was under the management of the same South Korean company Hyundai Asan (현대아산).

³ This focus on economic cooperation compared to cultural one, has a predecessor in the development of the European Community. In its beginnings the European common heritage was not widely recognized and the interests in the European economic area prevailed. The European Economic Community (EEC) Treaty of Rome in 1957, 'in fact, originated from the convergence of few European states not only on the objective to attain an unhindered economic growth in the aftermath of the second World War, but also *on the need to ensure the pacification of the continent through the respect of certain fundamental ideals. Notably, these ideals, such as democracy, liberty and solidarity, are the result of a common history and culture.* Considering the absence of an explicit competence and that the achievement of cultural objectives required a degree of integration and political proximity among the Member States which did not exist at the time of the EEC establishment, it is not surprising that the cultural approach adopted by the Community has been very cautious in the outset. Only with the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) signed in Maastricht 1992, a Community cultural policy was introduced with article 151' (Alessandro Chechi 2004. Cultural Matters in the Case Law of the European Court of Justice, in: Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailovic and Rupert Graf Strachwitz (Eds.), *Heritage and the Building of Europe*, Europa Nostra and Kulturstiftung Haus Europa, The Hague and Berlin: Maecenata Verlag, 93).

The public is very aware of the economic cooperation at the KIZ, but surprisingly not of the Kaesŏng cultural tours that were offered to South Koreans for a limited time. Also other joint Korean cultural activities in Kaesŏng, like several joint Korean excavations at the ancient royal palace site Manwŏltae or the joint excavations in the KIZ, are hardly taken notice of.

I believe there is still a big potential to actively employ Kaesŏng's unique historical symbolism for unification. Although a lucky accumulation of favourable coincidence, Kaesŏng is a symbolic gateway between the two Koreas and their shared history and unified state's capital. Kaesŏng has the potential to foster an increased understanding of the significance of cultural assets and their proactive use to rewrite collective memory, shared history and common identity in Korea and thus ultimately promoting steps for rapprochement.

I.II.III THE 'KAESŎNG PROJECT'

The so-called 'Kaesŏng Project' was the initial impetus in the selection of Kaesŏng as a case-study for this research. The following recollection of occurrences serves to acknowledge some of the people and circumstances, and secondly, to reveal something about my background, contextualising the research approach.

On 4 June 2003, it was amidst a period of promising inter-Korean cooperation and reconciliation efforts when I was first drawn to Kaesŏng and its cultural heritage. Approaching the end of my MA course at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), my supervisor Dr Charlotte Horlyck invited me to accompany her to a meeting at the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MoLAS) with representatives of MoLAS, English Heritage, British Museum, British Library, V&A, and SOAS. They met at the invitation of Dr Tony Michell from the Euro Asian Heritage Development (EAHD), a division of the Euro-Asian Business Consultancy. Dr Michell, an entrepreneur based in Seoul already had some good contacts in the DPRK, especially with the Ministry of Tourism. Thanks to improved inter-Korean relations and the development of the KIZ, the prospect of access to Kaesŏng and newly built infrastructure were envisaged by Dr Michell (and the EAHD) as an excellent opportunity for the development of international tourism. Probably to source investment from outside, he presented the 'Kaesŏng Project' to potentially interested parties in the UK. The 'Kaesŏng Project' was a plan for the touristic development of the historic town within the economic framework of the KIZ.

Already in January 2003 a first field trip had been made to Kaesŏng by EAHD, accompanied by the Seoul branch director of the l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO French Institute of East Asian Studies), Dr Elisabeth Chabanol, and advisors from MoLAS, who were to provide the archaeological expertise. These were followed up by further visits in August 2003, and without MoLAS personnel in September 2004, September 2005. The MoLAS archaeologist Dave Lakin summarised in the online *MoLAS 2003: annual review* that:

'MoLAS is advising on the archaeological aspects of a joint project undertaken with the National Bureau for Cultural Property Conservation [NBCPC] of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Kaesŏng Peoples' Committee. The project aims to promote heritage tourism to Kaesŏng [...]. At present a few of the major monuments of the city such as the royal palace and some of the royal tombs may be visited but many aspects of even these major sites are not well understood. The Kaesŏng project aims to

enhance the understanding of these and other monuments as part of a cultural heritage management plan for the city. Approximately 1,800 vernacular buildings, i.e. ones thought to pre-date the 20th century, survive in the city, a small fraction of the 200,000 which may have existed in its heyday. The investigation and preservation of these buildings will form part of the project. [...The two fieldtrips undertaken in 2003] enabled an outline programme of investigation to be established following discussions with the NBCPC. Fieldwork is likely to commence in the spring of 2004 and will be a co-operative multi-disciplinary effort, involving western and North Korean archaeologists' (Lakin 2003).

This was an ambitious project that demanded a significant capacity in research, labour and financial backing. Introduced by Dr Mitchell, I worked in the afternoons from January to June 2004 as an intern research assistant on the Kaesŏng project, under Dr Elisabeth Chabanol, whilst a fellow of the Korea Foundation Language programme in Seoul. The following years were filled with a succession of cultural, economic and political inter-Korean activities staging in Kaesŏng that have continued, with ups and downs, until now.

One year after the first fieldtrip, the project was still in its fledgling stage and my duty was to start collecting material on Kaesŏng's history and cultural heritage, writing summary reports. Even in September 2005 the project had not evolved much beyond the planning stage and building ties with the NBCPC. The projects underway included (as cited by Elisabeth Chabanol in an EFEO report 13 September 2005) the excavation of the ancient city wall near the South Gate in collaboration with MoLAS, and the indexing of the Kaesŏng Museum collection, the realisation and publication of which I eagerly anticipate.

So far, the efforts of the 'Kaesŏng Project' are hardly known of, as the primary focus of South Korean historians and archaeologists with interest on Kaesŏng is directed to inter-Korean cultural activities held meanwhile. For one, joint Korean scholarly meetings were conveyed in Kaesŏng in preparation of being put forward as a UNESCO Cultural World Heritage site. Further did the industrial development in the KIZ invite for inter-Korean joint excavations, and negotiations were undertaken by the NBCPC with Hyundai Asan to develop one-day cultural tours to Kaesŏng (described in detail in sections IV.III and V.I). Probably due to these developments of politically, logistically and financially advantaged competitors in the cultural

development of Kaesŏng, the ‘Kaesŏng Project’ had shifted focus from the initially envisioned tourism project to one of research cooperation. Although the NBCPC obviously cooperated with several initiatives for tourist development and excavation projects, both international and Korean ones, the true extent of projects and partners in cooperation with the NBCPC remains unclear. In Korea, however, the inter-Korean cooperation appears to dominate the popularly known narrative on cultural activities in Kaesŏng, all underlying a rhetoric of joint Korean forces for their shared past.

I.II.IV RELATIVE TRUTH: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SCHOLARLY OBJECTIVITY

The above account of the ‘Kaesŏng Project’ has basically been lost to popular historiography. The dominant presence of narratives about simultaneous inter-Korean cultural activities reveals a relative truth underlying all historiography conditioned by respective perspectives; as Felipe Fernandez-Armesto (2009) replies questioned about truth:

Although the truth is out there we shall not grasp it quickly or easily embrace it whole. Relativism, indeed, can teach us a vital form of wisdom. The same truths look different when viewed from different viewpoints. Truth, as I am always telling my students, is like a nymph glimpsed bathing between leaves. The more you shift perspective, the more is revealed.

Just as the ‘Kaesŏng project’ is not incorporated in the contemporary Korean dominant narratives on Kaesŏng cultural exchange and cooperation, this study too underlies heavy subjective undertones that are reflective of the objectives and circumstances of its time. Despite all its claims for objectivity, the dissertation cannot resist subjectivity when aiming to link (pacifying) socio-political change to cultural heritage. The sources and authors that influenced this work have been selected and interpreted to support the argument’s aim. The nature of the research looking at cultural heritage of Korea with a view on politics, might it be contemporary one with the aim of rapprochement, past colonial history, or sovereigns’ legitimisation claims throughout history, occasionally and involuntarily sets political powers and other group identities in over-simplifying opposition to each other.

Thus, rather than posing the question for truth, how it really was, revealing and judging the falsity of narratives, the dissertation’s set aims are to inquire about the why, the reasons and purpose, narratives and interpretations are presented and remembered from a certain perspective.

I.III PAPER STRUCTURE

Within the Chapters different historical periods are covered and merged around recurrent cultural themes, following an interdisciplinary approach focusing on politics, art history, cultural policies and anthropology. The different narratives of these cultural themes are closely interconnected and, therefore, cross-referencing between the individual chapters became indispensable.

To help compensate, Appendix 1 provides a chronological timeline of political events and cultural engagements with the principal cultural heritage items discussed in the thesis. The interdisciplinary and cross-period research allows us to observe behavioural patterns and changing transmission, adaptations and rereading of cultural heritage in Kaesŏng.

Chapter II explores some of the broader theoretical issues in the interplay of culture and politics in Korea. It starts outlining the dichotomy of cultural concepts employed in the contemporary Korean states; on one side the homogenous nation with a shared culture and past (II.I.i), and on the other the heterogeneous cultural interpretations shaped by state ideology (II.I.ii-iii).

The efforts and possible results of countering these diverging cultural interpretations are theorised in Chapter II.II. Therein I raise my concern on inter-Korean cultural exchange and engagement as envisioned for political rapprochement, prone to become political tools of cultural control.

Chapter II.III brings to light some of the ideas regarding the relationship between culture and national consciousness as emphasised during the Japanese Colonial period (1910-1945). The cultural emblems for identifications with a 'Korean' nation called for then are still today repeatedly called for to mark the unity of an all-embracing Korean nation.

My *Heritage as a Rapprochement tool: Interaction Model* introduced below in Chapter I.IV.ii underlines two methodological concerns: the influence of socio-political events on the interpretation of cultural heritage in flux, and in turn the shaping influence of the pool of existing cultural interpretations on socio-political behaviour and appropriation and ultimately rapprochement. Another model, the *Construction of cultural heritage meanings* simplified visualizes the complex chain from the objective historical evidence, the remains, to the

construction of interpretations based on hierarchical social and political affiliation to the authoritarian state (I.IV.i). The hierarchical division of the latter model in the respective authoritarian, professional and public engagement and interpretation of cultural heritage is mirrored in the thesis' chapter structure (III-V). Despite the structural division of the three actors in the construction process into separated Chapters, the process is inter-dependant of the three actors and a particular interpretation is never a production of an isolated actor alone.

Chapter III explores the interpretations and appropriations by political authorities, Chapter IV follows recent professional cultural interpretations and activities, and Chapter V finally investigates popular perceptions and interpretations. The thesis' understanding of the contemporary cultural perceptions of Kaesŏng's cultural heritage is primarily based on questionnaires, private travelogues and personal conversations with the relevant people, described in more detail in chapters IV, V.I and V.IV.iii.

The chapters on authoritarian (Chapter III) and popular cultural heritage interpretations (Chapter V) reveal that these tend to have deep roots in history and are best seen ordered along particular and recurrent themes of cultural heritage values throughout history. These cultural values are in the majority of cases bound to a system that proclaims certain virtues, in the case for succession for instance, legitimacy, bloodlines and proper conduct, or for the education of the masses the exemplary idolization of individuals as loyalists or heroes. Tracing the chain of inheritance of cultural traditions and material, through construction, repair, and social practices around the individual remains, cultural interpretations follow the economical principle of supply and demand. Supply being a good cultural-historical example and demand the aimed (propagated) interpretation. These cultural interpretations and subsequent appropriations then shape and influence the cultural heritage value that in turn contributes to societal change.

I.III.1 CULTURAL DISTINCTION AND UNITY

The various cultural interpretations highlighted in Chapters II -V are employed in two ways: either through cultural distinction to demarcate group belongings against another, for instance, to a nation or state, or in order to consolidate unity.

Cultural distinction works to substantiate critical reaction and even resistance against an authoritarian regime (II.III.i-iii, III.I.iii-v), as well as the very same authoritarian regime might appropriate culture to underpin its right of dominance (III.I.vii-III.II.ii). Even on a smaller scale, for example on an institutional and professional level, the expertise on cultural knowledge justifies the right to guide and lead cultural interpretations (IV.I and IV.II). The South Korean superior professional know-how in inter-Korean cultural projects is a subliminal affirmation of superiority (IV.III). Lastly, cultural appropriation may also lead to personal self-affirmation and gratification in distinction to the ‘other’ as experienced through cross border tourism (V.I, V.IV.iii), where the personal identity and group belonging was often expressed in reference to one’s superior (cultural) taste and advancement, and thus inadvertently legitimising the respective affiliation to a social or political system.

I.III.II EMOTIONAL AFFINITY TO CULTURE AND POLITICAL ENTITIES

On the other hand, cultural interpretations in respect to unity promote the remembrance of a shared past with affinity to the contemporary group. One of the active tools employed in building or strengthening a national identity is emotions. The emotional affinity to one's past with exemplary idols and prided culture were actively employed throughout Korean history.

As discussed in Chapter II.III.iii-v, emotions felt for one's culture and past were part of the lively Korean nationalists' debate during the Japanese Colonial period; attempting to outline what constituted the Korean nation and its political aims. Emotions, as shaped through direct family ties, or figuratively as ties to the nation, have been seen in the past and the present: rather obviously in the contemporary North Korean state as outlined in Chapter III.II, and the unification rhetoric of both Korean states (II.I.i), or more subtly in contemporary personal national perceptions of professionals and tourists (IV.III.iii and V.IV.iii).

In recent decades, archaeology, museum and heritage studies have seen an increased interest and trend in applying cultural history and heritage as a tool for community and nation building. And of course, as part of nation building, reconciliation of opposing groups through an increase of reciprocal knowledge and shared experiences plays a major factor.⁴

'Reconciliation' means the process of building long-term peace between former enemies and state competitors through bilateral institutions across governments and institutions (Feldman 2009, 46). The research presented here looks at 'rapprochement' between North and South Korea. The particularity of the case is that it concerns international rapprochement between the two states, as well as the internal national rapprochement between the people of the whole Korean nation. The choice not to use the term 'reconciliation', but rather the more subtle and less definite term 'rapprochement', is consciously taken: rapprochement conveys better a process, a process of coming closer in respective understandings through engaging contact and deliberation as theorised in Chapter II.II. The initial processes of engaging contact between North and South Korean cultural interpretations are explored in Chapters IV.I-IV.III, V.I. and V.IV.iii. There the varied choice of cultural projections further illuminates the focus and rich

⁴ In October 2009 the ICOMOS-ICME invited to Seoul for a conference on 'Museums for Reconciliation and Peace- Roles of Ethnographic Museums in the World'. The variety of viewpoints, approach and angles that were presented in the papers to address reconciliation, ranged from geographical reconciliation (from local, regional, national and international, disputed borders and territorial belongings) to thematic ones like religion, ethnics, with a focus on minorities and war memorials.

facets of the selected memory. A visitor to a historical site, for example, makes references to the seen objects in relation to his contemporary knowledge and ideology, as well as personal memories and interests.

In conclusion, it will be a matter of which inherited narratives will be more strongly emphasised, not just in a few scholarly/media/public joint activities, but also taught in the respective state narratives, and that will decide their impact on Korean rapprochement (and the fate of the Korean people and their heritage). Hsü Heng (1209-1281), a prominent Yuan Chinese Neo-Confucian, accentuated that ‘in ancient times, the rise of order and peace necessarily depended on elementary education and great learning’ (Wing-tsit Chan 1982, 120), an opinion that remains a valid advice in our times.

I.IV METHODOLOGY

I.IV.1 CONSTRUCTION OF MEANINGS

A key methodology employed is the exploration of cultural heritage perception through the processes of interpretations and associated knowledge. Based on the theoretical observations described in Chapter II on the competing authoritarian construction of meanings that shift between distinction and unity (II.I), and on the cultural engagement in horizontal and vertical directions (II.II), I developed the model *Construction of cultural heritage meanings* (Figure 4). It applies to the contemporary Korean situation of two equally authoritarian states' interpretations of the same cultural heritage. Their cultural interpretations are afflicted with their respective state ideology, and may so stand in competition to another. The model simplified visualizes the complex chain from the objective historical evidence, the remains, to the construction of interpretations based on hierarchical social and political affiliation to the authoritarian state. In addition to the hierarchical interpretation, the interpretation process is spatially arranged along a neutral middle field around which the cultural interpretations merge.

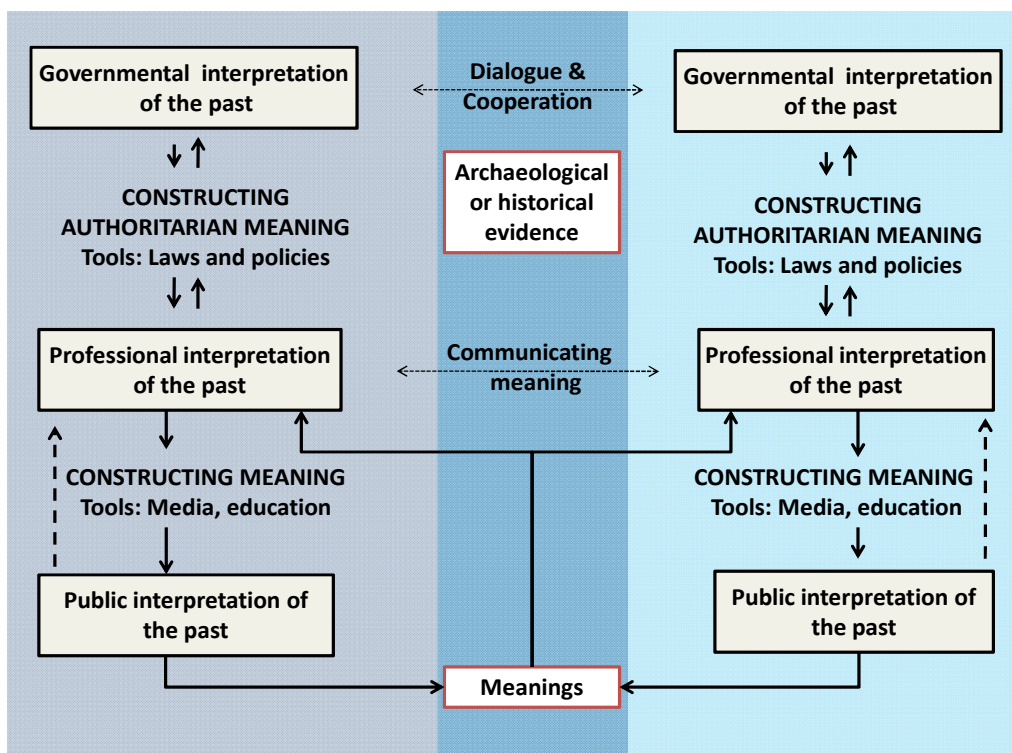


Figure 4: *Construction of cultural heritage meanings divided by two equal authoritarian states' ideology (Inspired by Copeland, 2004)*

The past evidence is organised along an existing scheme, the pool of past meanings, and then accommodated to the propagated interpretation concept. This interpretation in turn is disseminated through diverse tools, for instance, legislative, medial and institutional ones. The pool of past and present meanings available for transmission includes ideological, cultural and educated/ propagated meanings and emotional attachments.

The ‘authorized meaning of heritage’ (Smith L. 2006, 44) in both Koreas emphasises national and ethnic continuity and unbroken lineage of a homogenous nation (see chapter II.I.ii The Korean nation: between distinction and homogeneity). State internally each has its own sphere and circle of meanings. Out of the vast repertoire of cultural traditions and transmitted cultural values, interpretations are explicitly or implicitly adapted as a (cultural) means to the (socio-political) end of its time whereby the older generation invites, induces, and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional ways of thinking and behaving (Harris 1987, 7).

Thus the cultural heritage values by the state, professional and the public reflect upon and even take a stand on the social and political values, continually creating a complex system of material and intangible historical associations. The state-defined display of cultural relics (with an ideological interpretation) acts as a form of people’s educational engagement with the past and their acts of remembering. It is supposed to set an example by stressing the importance of glorious past achievements. Further these achievements and significant historical events are compared to present ones, so that the continuation, following the actions of the idealised ancestors, legitimises the actions and very being of the present society and political system. ‘The available, accessible repository of myths, stories, legends and histories is arguably the most important tool in forging a historical community or an ethnies’ (Breuker, 2006, 111).

Appropriating traditional patterns of behaviour or cultural heritage sites works partly as a conscious and partly unconscious method to secure social legitimacy and identifications with a political group. It is used by all kind of group entities.

I.IV.II HERITAGE AS A RAPPROCHEMENT TOOL

Further, I developed the *Heritage as a Rapprochement tool: Interaction Model* (Figure 5) to graphically depict the three main pillars in the argument for cultural heritage interpretation and engagement for rapprochement, and how they interlink. As the quintessence of this thesis, it adds to the common focus on political interpretations dominating historical and cultural narratives. The model points to the possible influence cultural heritage in turn can have on political and historical change.

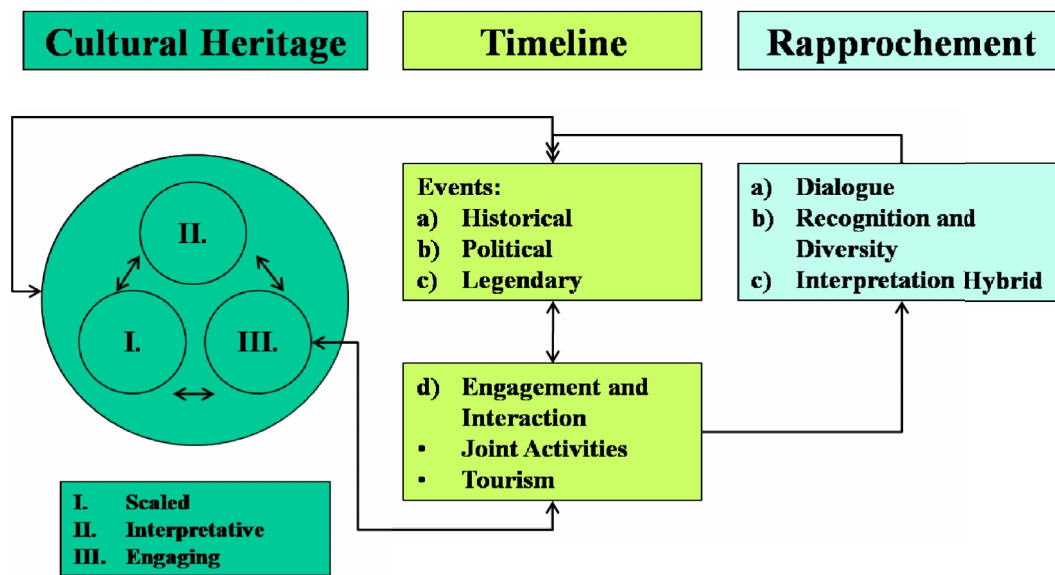


Figure 5: *Heritage as a Rapprochement tool: Interaction Model*

The direction and degree of change though is dependent on the interplay of diverse ‘cultural heritage interpretation processes’. Under the umbrella of ‘Cultural heritage’ I introduced three cultural heritage interpretation processes:

Scaled Heritage describes the official high status attributed to cultural heritage. The state authority plays an important role in shaping the view of the archaeological past, e.g., through the process of identifying selected monuments and relics and nominating them as worthy ‘cultural goods’ or ‘national treasures’.

In the *Interpretative Heritage* process, based on what aspects are significant to the individual or the group, new historical or archaeological information is accommodated according to existing

interpretative schemes. This transformation of interpretative ideas leads to the conformation or modification of the interpretative concept.

The *Engaging Heritage* process reflects the level of interaction with, and evolvment around the heritage object. People's engagement with cultural heritage can, for instance, be observed in the transmission of traditional legends, local customs and beliefs that are embedded in the heritage interpretation or also in safeguarding and tourism activities.

The cultural heritage interpretations of all actors are related to the socio-political reality of the given time. Therefore a chronological and horizontal view in form of a 'timeline' is added that demonstrates the changes of interpretation and appropriations of the same past remain (or historical theme). An analysis over long time spans has an advantage, because 'to an extraordinary degree ethnic symbolic communication is communication over the *longue durée*, between the dead and the living' (Armstrong 1982, 8).

The aim of the timeline methodology is to investigate how selected actions and events (cultural and socio-political) present in the lively worlds and realities of a given time, influence or possibly even change each other. The timeline shows for one the historical date, the 'original' event and the dates of following recollections of that past event, like restoration, research, publications. New references to an historical event or object are done from the perspective of contemporary stakes and accumulated knowledge.

Following up the dynamic of heritage activities' and interpretations' appropriation and their relation to historic-political events, the timeline methodology is a useful tool to reveal the linkage of the cultural, historical and political narratives, as well as the different and similar patterns of North and South Korean appropriations. The timeline assembles realities of a given time and discloses the influences these realities have had to shape the cultural heritage value on the one side, and to provoke social change on the other. In addition to the common focus on political interpretations dominating historical and cultural narratives, I wish to emphasise the possible influence cultural heritage in turn can have on political and historical change. The direction and degree of change though is dependent on the interplay of diverse heritage reproduction processes and the official or anticipated heritage value.

Both Korean states use the same cultural language framework, a hybrid of past activities and recorded interpretations, for their respective ideological aims in present interpretations of

cultural heritage. One outcome will be to test the future shaping of the interpretive categorisation (II) of the heritage value through present Korean interaction and joint engagement (III) at heritage sites. It should also establish how far the scaled heritage value (I) influences the autonomy in dialogue and fruitful development in the interaction area for the recognition of diverse interpretations and possible reconciling hybrid. It may be applied to contest previous notions of division and instead focus on common history on state level. That way, previously uncompromising ideological interpretations can be incorporated as just a part of that interpretation diversity. The link between political rapprochement actions and cultural heritage interpretation and education, therefore legitimises the use of heritage as a rapprochement tool.

Depending on the dialogue between the two governments and on the degree of ideological concessions done, cooperation between professionals, as well as contact between the general public can be taken forward. According to the many studies on contact theory (see section II.II.ii), the newly shared experience between the parties evaluating cultural heritage of a common past paves the way for new shared meanings as visualised on the model *Cultural Heritage as a Rapprochement Tool: Interaction Model*. Despite the various stakes involved, the joint Korean exchange and interaction evolving around cultural heritage is a singular event as part of the historical timeline, and an essential tool and prerequisite for the political aim of rapprochement. Using a constructivist approach to heritage interpretation, I argue that the actions of governments, professionals and individuals constantly (re-)construct the meaning of the past for the present, resulting in an a never completely objective perception of the past. As the meaning of the past is not objective, it is open to change, even a change to a common meaning and shared national identification with the past.

The overall methodology aims to:

- 1) Illustrate the reciprocal influence by scaled (I), interpretative (II), and engaging (III) heritage interpretations on contemporary perceptions of cultural heritage.
- 2) Investigate the impact of legends, historical and political events as well as cultural engagement on change of cultural heritage perceptions

- 3) Identify which cultural heritage perception, in regard to contemporary events and ideologies, are liable for rapprochement, which detrimental

Finally, the newly found recognition of historical and cultural concepts, as well as the symbolical meaning of the cooperation as such, contributes to the dynamic circle of cultural heritage values.

The various Chapters of the research describe examples of these categorisations and events of the timeline in order to establish their relationship. Varying degrees of one category can determine the degree of another. Ultimately the model could be used to identify what evaluation degree balance allows for greater joint interaction and consequent results, not only for a reshaping of the total cultural heritage value, but as a rapprochement tool.

Although the Inter-Korean relations display a rather unique and special case, I believe that the proposed interpretive cultural policy model will draw wider conclusions to cultural practices worldwide. Today's cultural heritage is connected most of the times to nation states demarcating their cultural 'property' to that of neighbouring states. Beyond its cultural function, can we assume that cultural heritage contributes to the general development of a territory, in terms of economic growth, territorial identity and social cohesion?

A communication platform will indeed contribute to reciprocal understanding and will be able to foster regional co-operations and recognition. Further, knowing about the reasoning of specific interpretive languages in use and their patterns in the historic setting, an advanced reflective and strategic communication can be implemented for more successful actions taken.

II THEORETICAL ISSUES REGARDING CULTURE AND POLITICS

II.I PURE CULTURE AND DIRTY POLITICS

The wide concept of culture has always been perceived of as being noble and pure, being cultured considered a virtue. At the same time the production and ownership of culture have been connected to power and self-identifications. It is culture's attached feel of innocence and virtue in conjunction with symbolical transfiguration that made cultural practices and objects carriers of manifold meanings, prone to political projections.

The allusion to culture and its values is particularly often seen in times of social unrest or political instability that reveal the intrinsic link between culture and politics. Culture and its values is stronger emphasised during these times of crisis, not only as a tool of the dominated, but also the dominating powers to enhance stability by nation-building or the sense of belonging to a common group.

Writing *On the Concept of History* at a time when all hopes directed to the powers in service for a betterment of time are destroyed, Walter Benjamin concludes that 'catastrophe is not the exception but the rule, and that not even the dead will be safe from the enemy if he is victorious. And this enemy has not ceased to be victorious' (Benjamin 1959, Thesis VI).

The fragility of the narratives of the past recounts the tangled relationship between history and desired ideology. Cultural heritage interpretation and its narratives is an explicit and implicit tool to (re-)build political legitimacy of a favoured party and deconstruct the one of the enemy. Thus, depending on the ideology the cultural narrative is to support, particular sets of heritage interpretation may be emphasised and provoke preservation and restoration that connect to the powerful cultural symbolisms in the past to built political legitimacy (cf. Chapter III.I.vi). Equally, previously highly regarded cultural heritage objects may be left in a desolate, neglected state and may even be purposefully destroyed depending on their narrative considered to be politically inutile or disturbing. The latter fact in turn legitimises critique against the liable authority, a call to mobilize for change to a better! Yet the propositions for the right or better way do not always accord with each other.

The newspaper article titled ‘Key issues to preserve forgotten historic sites 1’ (*Tonga Ilbo*, 1926.12.02) from the Japanese Colonial period is an illuminating example for the dilemma faced between state authoritarian stewardship of cultural heritage guided by politics and its contemporary critique by a powerless populace.

Even if the government is facing shortage of knowledge and labour craft, and preservation is not perfectly available, I acknowledge the efforts done. Preservation is very important. Excavation of old tombs is important and necessary. Old constructions should be preserved and restored. Historic sites are also to be examined. Some people might say that Korean historic sites are not so important for Japanese and we therefore cannot expect them to be interested in preserving them. This is absurd. Culture itself should be respected. [Finally the author shows his regret about what little Japan did in Korea about cultural sites preservation. He thinks that] the preservation of cultural sites is a holy project and it should be based on a *pure cultural* management (culture-first policy) that does not consider *dirty political* matters [emphasis added].

Similarly in 2007, a South Korean tourist in Kaesŏng, seeing one too many of the cultural heritage sign boards with praising references to the DPRK leaders, exclaimed:

Have a look at the details. The name of the Great Leader and his remarks are written in red letters. *Historic sites and politics! They do not really match!* [emphasis added]⁵

If a conscious reflection or spontaneous exclamation, there is a common feeling that culture and politics should be kept separate. This sentiment is, however, followed by the realisation of the lamented opposite practice.

This comes to question if culture and its meaning is essentially pure and universal or intrinsically political. Do historic sites and politics really not match? Already in earlier times, scholars of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods reflected over the neglected monuments of previous rulers as a topic of life’s vicissitudes, lamenting the subsequent loyalty shifts aligned with the changing political powers and their cultural symbols in place (see Yi Saek, Chapter III.I.vi).

⁵ Blog travelogue (<http://blog.daum.net/rosy900/5661114>) of a 60+ year old couple who travelled to Kaesŏng on 20 December 2007.

Until today, the approved logic of interpretation and preserving one's memory and cultural past may be ignored, and even denied as soon as it loses its self-serving socio-political function.

However, when dichotomising culture and politics, the former is considered a constant positive aesthetic or tradition and a prided identification with a group, a nation. Politics on the other side are 'corrupted' and subject to change.

In contemporary political rapprochement politics it is therefore not surprising to observe the stubborn adherence to the claimed homogenous and shared cultural past. What makes it so attractive to separate culture from authoritarian politics is that culture nurtures a national, local or even personal attachment to a group through sentiments (Chapter III.II POLITICS OF EMOTION). In turn the sentiment of group belongings is able to serve (political) empowerment outside the realm of dominant politics. In fact, due to this very equitable and universal understanding of culture, it has been subjected to political interpretations and the relation between culture and politics will always remain a matter of debate.

My examination of cultural heritage in relation to Korean rapprochement, a dominant political aim with an inherent stress on homogeneity, is, of course, not free of controversy. So what is the link between cultural heritage, ideology and socio-political aspirations for nation-building and political rapprochement and how does its influence exert on politics?

II.I.1 *THE KOREAN KULTURNATION: ONE NATION IN TWO STATEHOODS*

Following the division of the Korean peninsula in 1945, the Korean people and the respective governments declared that they are one nation that should live together under one state. The divided state territories are regarded as transitional, where the national narrative recalls for a territorial unification along its rightful recapture of all its spaces of identity. It is thus the national identity that is the driving force in reconciliation politics. Throughout time these unification efforts have undergone some change, but are still anchored in the revised constitutions of both Korean governments.

A glimpse at the constitution of the two Koreas highlights the states' self-perception and legitimization of their Cultural Heritage politics in connection to unification politics. The ROK Constitution⁶ declares in its preamble that

We, the people of Korea (*Uri Taehan Kukmin*), proud of a resplendent history and traditions dating from time immemorial, upholding the cause of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea born of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 and the democratic ideals of the April Revolution of 1960, having assumed the mission of democratic reform and peaceful unification of our homeland and having determined to consolidate national unity with justice, humanitarianism and brotherly love, and to destroy all social vices and injustice, and to afford equal opportunities to every person and provide for the fullest development of individual capabilities in all fields, including political, economic, social and cultural life by further strengthening the free and democratic basic order conducive to private initiative and public harmony, and to help each person discharge those duties and responsibilities concomitant to freedoms and rights, and to elevate the quality of life for all citizens and contribute to lasting world peace and the common prosperity of mankind and thereby to ensure security, liberty and happiness for ourselves and our posterity forever, do hereby amend, through national referendum following a resolution by the National Assembly, the Constitution, ordained and established on July 12, 1948, and amended eight times subsequently. (October 29, 1987)

In chapter one it specifies the boundaries claimed for itself: 'The territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean peninsula and its adjacent islands (article 3), the aim of the ROK to 'seek national unification, and formulate and carry out peaceful unification policy based on the free and democratic basic order' (Article 4), and the state's support of national

⁶ <http://www.ccourt.go.kr/home/main/ccourt/english.jsp> (retrieved 19 August 2009)

culture: ‘The State shall strive to sustain and develop cultural heritages and to enhance national culture’. (Article 9)

Although the DPRK constitution⁷ focuses much more on the definition of the role of its founder Kim Il Sung and his ‘immortal Juche idea’, it too, defines its aim for unification and the furtherance of culture.

Like the ROK preamble, the DPRK establishes a link to its legacy from the independence movement stipulating that

[...] Comrade Kim Il Sung founded, organized and guided an anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle under its banner, created revolutionary tradition, attained the historical cause of the national liberation, and founded the DPRK, built up a solid basis of construction of a sovereign and independent state in the fields of politics, economy, culture and military, and founded the DPRK. [...] Meanwhile the text is not short to advert to its superiority against other states, the ROK in particular, claiming that] Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified the fundamental principle of State building and activities, established the most superior state social system and political method, and social management system and method, and provided a firm basis for the prosperous and powerful socialist fatherland and the continuation of the task of completing the Juche revolutionary cause.

Comrade Kim Il Sung regarded ‘believing in the people as in heaven’ as his motto, was always with the people, devoted his whole life to them, took care of and guided them with a noble politics of benevolence, and turned the whole society into one big and united family.

The Great Leader Comrade (GLC) Kim Il Sung is the sun of the nation and the lodestar of the reunification of the fatherland. Comrade Kim Il Sung set the reunification of the country as the nation’s supreme task, and devoted all his work and endeavours entirely to its realization.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, while turning the Republic into a mighty fortress for national reunification, indicated fundamental principles and methods for national reunification, developed the national reunification movement into a pan-national movement, and opened up a way for that cause, to be attained by the united strength of the entire nation.[...]

⁷ This text derives of the revised constitution prepared after the passing of Kim Il Sung and in force since 5 September 1998. The previous constitution (established in 1948, and revised in 1972 and 1992) did not contain a preamble. In April 2009 further amendments were made to the constitution, but with no changes to the cited articles in regard to unification and culture.

It substantiates its aim for unification (Chapter 1, Article 9)

The DPRK shall strive to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of Korea by strengthening the people's power and vigorously performing the three revolutions - the ideological, cultural and technical - and reunify the country on the principle of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

and the role of culture for the state (Chapter 3, Article 41)

The DPRK shall develop a truly popular, revolutionary culture which serves the socialist working people. In building a socialist national culture, the State shall oppose the cultural infiltration of imperialism and any restorationist tendencies, protect its national cultural heritage, and develop it in keeping with the existing socialist situation.

Now, according to their constitution, both states aim for peaceful unification of the nation. Yet both foresee this unification, as well as the protection of their national cultural heritage under the hegemonic domination of their respective political system (National Unification Board 1990; Suh Dae-Sook 2000). This conflict leaves its traces in the application of cultural narratives.

Gi-Wook Shin (2006) has thoroughly investigated the popular Korean 'ethnic' nation concept, amongst others in relation to unification politics with all its advantages and flaws. Drawing on some similarities to the German discourse of one cultural nation (*Kulturnation*) as a -contested- unifying force in two statehoods, this chapter aims to apply the 'cultural' nation concept.⁸

⁸I am not discussing or even suggesting a solution to the rapprochement between the two Koreas following the German example, but merely introduce a term and national concept used in divided Germany. The Korean applicability might be disputable, but surely the German unification experience has been thoroughly researched by German and Korean scholars as a case study to develop possible master plans for Korea. For discussions about applicability, the similarities and differences see for instance: Kang Suk Rhee 1993. *Koreas Unification: The applicability of the German Experience*. *Asian Survey*, 33(4): 365-66.
Kreft, Heinrich: Lösung der offenen koreanischen Frage nach deutschem Vorbild?, in: *Außenpolitik* I/98, 53-63;
Pfennig, Werner 1997. Merits and Flaws of Comparative Approaches, in: Pfennig, Werner (Ed.). *United We Stand – Divided We Are. Comparative Views on Germany and Korea in the 1990s*, Hamburg, 11-27;
Kim Il-Mu 1995. *The German Unification and the reunification of South and North Korea* (Tokil toil kwa nambuk t'ongil), Seoul.
Albrecht, Ulrich (Ed.) 1997. *The political and socio-economic challenges of Korean unification: lessons from Germany's post-unification experience* (SNU FUB joint conference, 18-19 March 1996, Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University), Berlin;

Based on the argument of sharing one culture, history and language, a notion emerged similar to the German concept of a *Kulturnation*, where the term ‘nation’ is used outside the language ruled understanding of the two states.⁹ The respective German governments of the ‘one nation in two statehoods’ actively employed national cultural emblems in the media and political propaganda to weld together what belongs together. Gi-Wook Shin (2006, 265) wrote that unified Germany ‘invoked ethnic nationalism to entice the population to tolerate a painful reunification process involving the delegitimized German Federal Republic regime and the apolitical people of the German Federal Republic’. I would argue that the ‘national cultural emblems’ were and are strongly merged to the ethnic argument liable to unification, being one by language and cultural traditions as for example illustrated in the cultural symbolic of election posters (Figure 6 and Figure 7).



Figure 6: ‘Germans [get together] at one table!’ Poster of the National Front GDR showing the cathedrals of Cologne and Dresden, February 1954 (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin)



Figure 7: ‘For the united, peace-loving, democratic and independent Germany’, Poster of the National Front GDR with a handshake over the Brandenburg Gate, May 1954 (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin)



Figure 8: ‘With the SPD for a free, social and united Germany’, Election poster of the German Social Party SPD, FRG 1949¹⁰ (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin)

National Yonhap Press Agency 1993. *Tokil tongil ūi myungam* (Lights and shadows of German Unification), Seoul.

⁹ Although I do follow the constructionist view on the concept of nation as a modern product of nationalist ideology and am critical to some of the implications of the primordialist view, in my research I try to understand and accommodate these Korean perceptions as phenomena or given realities in the particular historic setting. Further I believe that there is a cultural embedment in cultural behavioural patterns in history, a national or regional cultural behaviour and language of traditional reference. Even if there was no word for national culture, there existed a national, perhaps better, a regional cultural behaviour and language of normative reference.

¹⁰ This poster antedates the Görlitzer Agreement from 6 July 1950 that was supposed to regulate the disputed border line with Poland!

While in Germany unification was achieved through absorption (or in Vietnam by force), the two Korean states proposed various Three-Step Plans of unification that basically promote a gradual rapprochement. In the first step, the idea of ‘One nation, two systems, two states’ (一民族 二体制 二国家) is to facilitate cooperation and to promote peaceful co-existence countering feelings of hostility and mistrust.¹¹ In 1985 Kim Il Sung even put forward the idea of a ‘Federal Democratic Republic of Korea’ with ‘One nation, one country, two systems, two governments’ (一民族 一国家 二体制 二政府). Prior to unification, this form of proposed confederation has been envisioned as one single sovereign federal state that simultaneously guarantees the sovereignty of the two federal governments. Despite all the periodical political gestures of goodwill, they basically remained purely rhetorical. The odd discrepancy of categorical refusal for compromises in political systems and the absolute insistence of being one nation by blood, culture, and language persist and lead to confusing different identifications.

Paradoxically the state-employed images of unity (*t’onghap*), national culture (*minjok munhwa*) and homogeneity (*tongjilsŏng*), based on a common history, language and ethnicity have to ignore the heterogeneous ideological developments of recent history created by the partition (Cho Han Bum 2002 & Ko Yonggwŏn 2002). In fact it appears that the decline of a collective Korean nation memory provokes an ever stronger call on homogeneity and shared culture.

Yet when talking about national cultural heritage in either of the two Korean states, does the national encompass the whole Korean nation or does it exclusively refer to the respective Korean nation-state?

¹¹ The constant threat to be tricked into a reunification through absorption is especially often expressed by North Korean media accusing policies of the South. End of June 2009, for instance, did North Korea accuse the ROK of trying and ‘scheming to absorb it’ (*Yonhap*, 2009.06.28). Remarks [by ROK president Lee Myung-bak] are aimed at ‘breaking down the North’s ideology and system to achieve ‘reunification through absorption’. It also blasted Lee’s DPRK policy as the ‘basis and destination’ of the ‘absorption’ scheme. ‘What we can obviously learn here is that South Korea’s confrontational policy toward its fellow men will never change as long as Lee Myung-bak is in power’.

II.I.II *THE KOREAN NATION: BETWEEN DISTINCTION AND HOMOGENEITY*

The Korean *Kulturnation* has become the underlying principle of shared nationhood based upon the unification discourse present within the existing states. Two North Korean authors, for instance, connect the rhetoric of historical homogeneity to the desire for state unification to ensure the unified development of the Korean national culture.

Our homogeneous nation that lived on the same territory for thousands of years finds itself cut in two; this obstructs a unified development of the national culture and, if it continues, must stifle the common national characteristics formed during a long history. [...] All men of culture in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are resolved to devote their efforts and their talents to reunification, to overcoming the division of their country and ensuring a unified development of the national culture.

(Chai & Hyon 1980, 41)

Since the late 1980s 'the unbroken *national cultural community* was conceptualised as the ultimate foundation of the necessity of Korean unification' and used throughout major policy programmes offered by the South Korean Ministry of Unification (Han Sang-Jin 2008).¹² The concept of a national cultural community refers back to the so called 'cultural movement' (see below Chapter II.III), the Korean popular cultural and political identification of the nation under the Japanese Occupation from 1910. Already then the national cultural consciousness was regarded as the unifying source for nation building and national liberation on the basis of shared cultural characteristics, for instance, language and moral aspirations. Then, the unbroken and homogenous cultural community has been conceptualised as the ultimate foundation of the necessity of Korean solidarity and union. Ever since the division of Korea, this cultural community has served as a justification for the Korean Unification effort. Nevertheless, the first steps towards actual cultural nation rapprochement were embraced only much later. With the aim of rapprochement in mind, cultural exchange and joint Korean cultural heritage

¹² The main personality who played an active role in shaping this policy orientation was the former Minister of Unification, Prof. Lee Hong-Ku (Han Sang-Jin 29 January 2008, email reply).

activities have been introduced as addressed in white papers, inter Korean joint agreements and the implementation of the ‘Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act’ during inter-Korean ministerial talks in 1990. The ‘Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act’ promotes various joint socio- cultural activities and exchanges, many of them sportive activities but also including cultural heritage activities, and was implemented with the thought that Korean socio-cultural cooperation and exchanges are valuable additions to other utilitarian cooperation. Although this act is an important premise to joint Korean activities, more than the goal itself, it appears to serve as a tool for other interests of an economical or state legitimising nature.¹³

Both Korean states have highlighted Korea’s glorious past under a nationalistic approach to prove their continuous and long-standing homogenous development and unique achievements. Although Korean cultural history has been actively employed as historical evidence for respective state ideological claims, it overwhelmingly stresses a national identity that encompasses the people of the whole Korean peninsula encompassing all Korean history. In both Koreas an ‘authorized meaning of heritage’ (Smith L. 2006, 44) promotes national identity and ethnic continuity and unbroken lineage of a homogenous nation, the concept of a congruence building common cultural ideal. Only in the 2000s South Korean politics started to refrain from using the term ‘homogenous nation’, particularly in national politics, due to a new ‘multi-culturalism’ policy to accommodate the growing numbers of foreign workers and brides (Han Kyung-Koo 2007, 9) that climaxed in 2006.¹⁴

Nevertheless in joint Korean (scholarly) cooperation, the homogenous nation discourse has been kept alive, probably for its obvious qualities building a congruent commonality. The idea

¹³ See for instance one of the tasks mentioned in the work plan of the ROK Ministry of Unification in February 2007 ‘Extending exchanges and cooperation regarding cultural heritages of the nation, promoting enacting the ‘Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act’.

¹⁴ In 2006 President Roh even called for an end to teaching ethnic homogeneity and to embrace the tenets of multiculturalism (Han Kyung-Koo 2007, 9). These calls did not fall accidentally to the time of the recommendation of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD). All the major newspapers in Korea reported that the CERD expressed concern over the Korean emphasis on the ethnic homogeneity of the nation in its report to the CERD and that CERD had recommended the ROK government stop using such expressions as *sunhyŏl* (pure-blood) and *honhyŏl* (mixed-blood) as part of an effort to reduce discrimination. Han Kyung-Koo points out that the report was in fact intended as an apology for the current state of affairs by invoking what they thought to be ‘historical facts’ or ‘cultural traditions.’ So, it was the accidental phrasing in the report submitted by the Korean government that caused CERD to express its concern that ‘the emphasis placed on the ethnic homogeneity of Korea may represent an obstacle to the promotion of tolerance and friendship among the different ethnic and national groups living within its territory.’

that shared ancient historic roots have continued to shape a specific and homogenous group, the Korean nation, remains the essential reason for national unification. Regardless of their ideological views, most Korean scholars see the Korean nation as a continuation of long standing patterns of ethnicity, built on pre-existing geographic and cultural foundations (Connor 1994, Smith 1986, 1991 and 2008). This Korean nation seems to be conceived of as a community with a deeply shared cultural and historical identity regardless of, and overpowering, the actual ideological differences across the 38th parallel.¹⁵



Figure 9: DPRK poster: 'Nation, and Bloodline, and Language, and Territory, and Culture, and History-ONE' (http://lenta.ru/photo/2010/12/17/korea/pic024_Jpg.htm)

In 1947 the prominent South Korean historian Son Chint'ae wrote, 'Since the beginning of history, we [Koreans] have been a single race that has had a common historic life, living in a single territory [...], sharing a common destiny' (cited in Duncan 1998, 198).

As a Marxist historian, Paek Namun (白南雲 1894- 1979) is a bit more nuanced in his distinction between the pre-modern ethnic group and a modern nation. Nevertheless did he note in 1946, 'The Korean nation is a unitary nation with a common blood, territory, language, culture, and historical destiny for thousands of years' (cited in Pang Kijŭng 1992, 124). Of course, these statements came in a time before and just after the foundation of the two Korean states in 1948 when unification of the Korean peninsula still was a much more real aim and the argumentation embedded in the

rhetoric of the nationalist context of the colonial period. Like many archaeologists, these historians argued that the Korean nation has been united since the dawn of historical time if not necessarily as a state, then at the very least by culture, blood and language. 'Though they may stand in direct opposition over claims of national legitimacy and representation, political leaders in South and North Korea have shared the same view on the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the Korean nation' (Shin 2006, 5) agreeing that the nation spanned thousands

¹⁵ See: Kim Il-young 2006. In search of new ideological orientation in Korean politics, *Korea Focus*, Autumn 2006: 132-145 (Republication from *Journal of Korean Political and Diplomatic History*, 27, 2)

of years and was based on a single bloodline (Figure 9), particularly when referring to the issue of unification.

Eradication of communism

Notably there was an increased call of homogeneity and fraternity by blood and culture at a time of bellicosity and incidents along the DMZ in 1966-67, when the alliance and brotherhood between the two states was fraught with tension (Lerner 2010). Then, the South Korean government of president Park Chung Hee, for example, systematically rallied against communism and defined the North as enemy the nation should be defended against, but equally addressed the 'Korean brethren in North Korea and other Communist-ruled areas' in 1968 (Park Chung Hee 1970, 246). In 1972 he proudly proclaimed that 'we have never given up our pride nor our dignity in being a homogeneous people.' He even called North Koreans 'our brethren in the north of this great Han race' and argued that 'although we are now separated into south and north, we are one entity with a common destiny, bound by one language, and by one history and by the same racial origin. Ideology changes, but the nation stays and lasts' (Park Chung Hee 1975, 179+ 22). In commemoration of the National Foundation Day on 3 October 1973, Park extended his address to Koreans who lived under Communist persecution, and stressed that Korea was 'now being cultivated as a bastion of freedom and peace, as well as [of] the struggle to repel Communist aggression' (Park Chung Hee 1976, 87). Park heavily relied on the terminology of the nation, *minjok*, that translated designates the shared *people race* and puts a strong emphasis on the Korean people's sharing of common blood. As the word refers to the Korean nation, it becomes loaded with a heavily racial character that ironically had been propagated not only for unification of the two Korean regimes, but also to call with great effect for the Korean people's absolute and unconditional love and loyalty for the nation-state.¹⁶

¹⁶ Luc Walhain 2007. Transcending Minjok: How Redefining Nation Paved the Way To Korean Democratization, *Studies On Asia, SERIES III*, 4(2) 83-100.



Figure 10: 'Let's achieve unification by eradication of communism (myŏlgong t'ongil irukhaja) through the 4.19 people spirit', 1961, University of Seoul Museum

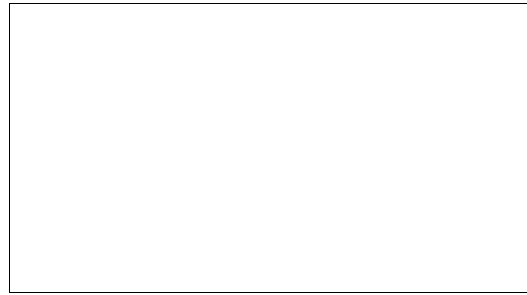


Figure 11: Newspaper clip titled 'Let's unify the homeland by bullets' (Chosŏn Inmingun, 2010.04.28) © Open Radio for North Korea

A ROK poster (Figure 10) illustrates rather vividly the call to forcefully liberate the North of Communism and achieve unification, employing the sentiment of a recent people movement, the so-called 1960 April Revolution, a movement that triggered by the violent military deployment against demonstrators led to the eventual abdication of president Rhee Syngman (cf. section III.II.ii). Already in 1998 Roy Richard Grinker wrote in his book *Korea and Its Futures* that unification 'can be a euphemism for conquest, a gloss for winning the war [...and a belief] that North Korea must be totally absorbed into the South, its state destroyed, and its people assimilated' (Grinker 1998, 23+ 49; cited in Shin 2006, 187). Similar, a recent DPRK newspaper article demonstrates the will for forceful unification after heightened inter-Korean political tensions, here under the banner of the North Korean national flag (Figure 11).

II.I.III CULTURAL LEGITIMACY FOR UNIFICATION

Conflicts over the meaning of the past become more than just conflicts over interpretation or differing values, they become embroiled in negotiation over legitimacy of political and cultural claims made on the basis of links over the past.

(Smith L. 2004, 3)

Partially for reasons of territorial overlap between the modern state boundaries and the search for a legitimate claim for historical continuity, cultural heritage is nationally advocated as all-compassing Korean, but focuses and gives power to past cultures with locally dominant evidence. Representing and highlighting their value as oldest and greatest enhances the legitimacy of the culture's heir politically. Of course this ideological focus is shaped by the places accessibility and possibility of engagement by professionals and tourists alike.

Briefly after Korean Independence Kim Il Sung's public speech on 'Planning the active prosperity of National Culture' in March 1946 (NRICH 1985) recalled national culture and the duty of its protection to secure freshly found democratic and social developments in the DPRK. Favourite research areas of national culture that serve this function are the ancient periods of northern kingdoms. The culture of Koguryŏ, for instance, is favourably compared to the other three kingdoms of its time as a predecessor and cultural influencer of today (Pak Chin-uk 1991, 286ff).

In the South, also for territorial linkage and access, the study of Unified Silla (668-935), Late Silla in North Korean, and Chosŏn (1392-1910), both with their capital in today's South Korea, was favoured. In the foundation time of the ROK, the right-wing educator An Ho-sang for example evoked old Korean mythology like the Hwarang spirit of Silla warriors to peddle his ideas on the uniqueness of the Korean people and to encourage an armed conquest of North Korea on the model of the Silla unification in 668 CE (Cumings 1990, 211). Unsurprisingly, the North Korean terminology dislikes the periodisation term 'Unified Silla' (*t'ongil-silla* 통일신라) and uses 'Late Silla' (*hu-silla* 후신라) instead, with the understanding that the first historical unifying state was Koryŏ. In that sense Koryŏ is the more neutral period of study that, however, again is tried to be linked to the respective historical interpretations.

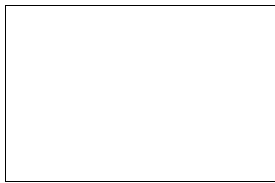


Figure 12: Three Kingdoms Period, ca. 350 CE

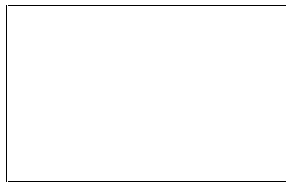


Figure 13: Unified Silla territorial extension around 700 CE

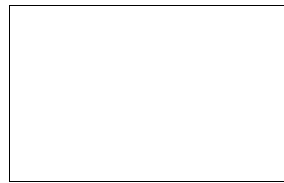


Figure 14: Koryŏ Period around 1000 CE

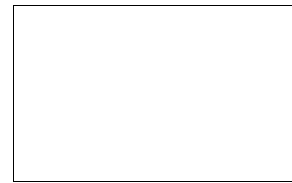


Figure 15: Korean Peninsula today

In our country's history the first unified state was not Silla, but Koryŏ. One can observe that Koryŏ took over Koguryŏ's unification politics to achieve the unification of our country (Kim Jong Il, cited in Ri 2003, 6).

For the contemporary Korean states the claim for a certain dynasty's merit of unifying the Korean peninsula is important in so far as it provides them the historical legitimacy and merit to unify Korea again, calling on their territorial and historical succession and linkage to the respective past dynasty, for instance to emphasise the importance of the modern capitals in history.¹⁷ Some of the discoveries made by North Korean archaeologists in Kaesŏng are also said to be proof for a link between Koguryŏ (37 BCE- 668 CE) and Koryŏ. According to North Korean reports, evidence from the Manwŏltae palace site (Chapter IV.III.ii), the Koryŏ royal tombs of T'aejo Wang Kŏn (Chapter III.I.vi), and Kongmin (Chapter III.I.iv), and the Yŏngt'ongsa temple (Chapter IV.II) suggest that Koryŏ was the first state to unify Korea and the first sovereign state over the Korean peninsula's territory.

¹⁷ During and even after the Japanese colonization Korean historians were struggling to prove a history of an autonomous Korea in Rankean methodological framework of historical 'Unparteilichkeit' (impartiality). The idea of 'objective historiography' had an enormous influence on the Japanese colonialist discourse to prove the backwardness of universal norms of the colonised countries. This tendency can again be seen in the North and South Korean historiographies of a unified Korea.

See: Hyŏn Myŏng-Ho 1990. *Research about the formation of the problem of our nation's first unified country* (Uri minjok-ŭi ch'ot t'ongilgukga hyŏngsŏngmunjae-ye taehan yŏn'gu 우리 민족의 첫 통일국가 형성문제에 대한 연구, Kim Il Sung University Press.

Kim Il Sung, 1960. *Reexamining the Problematic of the Unified three Kingdom Period* (Samguk tongil munje-rŭl tasi kŏmt'ohalte taehajŏ 삼국통일문제를 다시 검토할데 대하여), 29 Oct. 1960.

The aspiration of the Koguryŏ dynasty to unify other kingdoms of the same race was inherited by the Koryŏ dynasty which was established at the early 10th century. Koryŏ brought under one sovereignty not only the inhabitants residing in the south of the River Taedong, the area of the former kingdom of Silla, but also the nomadic people who emigrated from the far north, that is, the defunct Parhae state. It also waged a steady struggle to retake the vast territory of the former Koguryŏ state. The name Koryŏ was also derived from Koguryŏ. (Kim Il Song, in CYYT 1988, 8)

Although contemporary rhetoric in the ROK distances itself of the earlier approach of An Ho-Sang reclaiming the Unified Silla legacy of absorption, it nevertheless underlies the utmost presumption of a possible future unification under its tutelage. Based on the same logic of cultural nation, Koryŏ, as the first unified state, is also employed to legitimize a Korean unification under its territorial heir, the North Korean state. The concept of the *Kulturation* thus discloses the very sensitive relationship between state and nation narratives and its possible deliberation through cultural heritage.

II.I.IV *HOMOGENOUS KULTURNATION VERSUS HETEROGENEOUS IDEAS AND CULTURAL CHANGE!*

So do the national cultural ideals, as well as the respective celebration of political doctrine of the two Koreas incorporate the motivation to unify and at the same time promote their specific way of life, and if so, how? Both Koreas highlight Korea's glorious past under a nationalistic approach to prove their continuous and long-standing homogenous development and unique achievements. This ultra-nationalistic approach to history has prompted some scholars to suggest that it is likely to become instrumental in the process of Korean unification (Petrov 2003). At the same time though, if it comes to cultural symbols and relics, both Koreas have predominately used the national argument of a common cultural community with stress on their respective territorial boundaries.

At one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present. On the other hand, heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups. Heritage is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings, but may equally be about cultural change. (Smith L. 2006, 4)

These above mentioned concurrent paradoxical uses of heritage and possibilities of interpretation as described by Laurajane Smith are not limited to the distinction between the 'promotion of consensus' and the challenge and redefinition of received values based on the opposition of state-sanctioned and subaltern groups. These can be extended to the interpretation of heritage between two different states. In the contemporary Korean case, both Korean states promote heritage interpretations based at the same time on *minjok* (the ethnic nation) and *kungmin* (the respective nation state). The former focuses on the common and unifying Korean identity through 'nation' interpretation and the latter on the identity and affiliation to the ideological state interpretation. The contemporary divided Korean nation state identities hold on to the memories of a shared past and of a common national identity. The schism of the state or a nation, of course, is not a new revelation. Describing the problematic issue of conflicting memories and identities in the French nation state, Pierre Nora (1992) in the exact opposite, addressed the dialectic of divided past memories that shape the shared contemporary French

national identity in the third part of the French miscellany ‘Lieux de mémoire’, *Les France: Conflits et partages*, hence the plural for France used in his title.

Paradoxically, shared cultural heritage is supposed to serve unifying national sentiments, but its ideological appropriation by the respective states widens the gap between the Korean states. Although referring to the all inclusive Korean nation, the nation building through cultural heritage was expected to produce interpretations of the past that are compatible with the political ideology and to, implicitly or explicitly, serve the state. Consequently the theoretical perspectives and methodological practices employed in the two Koreas were not politically neutral. This ultimately contributed to significantly different narratives and periodisations of the same history (Kim Minkoo 2008, 124; cf. IV.III.i). This makes it particular difficult for joint Korean heritage practices to promote a consensus over the interpretation of their historical remains. In order to gain a deeper and more fruitful dialogue between the North and South Korean parties, the communication of diverse meanings and redefinitions declared on this deliberated consensus will enhance the possibilities for reconciling cultural national identifications. This calls for the importance of self-reflexivity on the part of historians and archaeologists, that is, a self-critical examination of the political interests, ideology, and social positioning of cultural material interpretations in social contexts (McGuire 2008, 14).

Diverging from both (authorative-subjective and universality) arguments, a third argumentation developed that is more difficult to put into practice and is still little accepted. It asks for the acknowledgement of diverse developments and a heritage of diversity.

Values and attitudes that recognise heterogeneity as a valuable form of diversity need to be established and indeed be promoted to a level whereby genuine coexistence begins to emerge. [...] Differing characteristics [...] need to be understood as being simply different. (Kim Pyŏng-no 2000, 43).¹⁸

¹⁸ The nineteenth century Kaesŏng gazetteer and official historian Kim T’aegyŏng was caught in an unresolved dilemma of local and official historical ‘narrative division’, where the political agenda of the Chosŏn period would not allow reviving and promoting the historical importance of the former capital and his home town Kaesŏng (Breuker 2004, 96-7).

Its stress on difference and otherness, on the specificities of the local provides an antidote against homogenisation and abstract universality (Habermas 1998, 190). So far the theoretic result has been to overcome the homogenous interpretation disguised mainly as the nation, and to promote the directly opposing agenda of heterogeneity with a focus on the local, the community and grass-root activities. This discursive approach, of course, has its limits when applied in the current reality of inter-Korean cultural heritage activities that underlie the theme of nation-building and political reconciliation. Discourse analysis's underlying principle of subjectivity and multivocality is not capable of generating a unifying power. There is a bizarre conflict between this use of discourse analysis to lay open the dominant and authoritarian structures of politically motivated interpretation, trying to emancipate individuals and at the same time to aim for the realisation of (inter-) nationally shared values. Is the denouement of dichotomies like of the North and South Korea states on account of diversity truly achievable or just utopian? I believe the latter. Because the search for an identity, no matter if by an individual or a group, the more so a nation, lives of the dichotomy in demarcation and distinction to the outer or other. Under the shared aim of rapprochement and international recognition, the two Korean states' rhetoric, instead of celebrating diversity, just shifts the interpretation focus from their respective states to the common (Kultur-) nation.

In Kaesŏng, the unifying ideology of the Koryŏ period has been co-opted in the North as in the South for its evident parallels with North-South unification rhetoric. In general, both Korean states look favourably to the Koryŏ dynasty as a period when true unification was achieved (Vermeersch 2008, 1516). Due to the prevailing amount of Koryŏ period relics in and around Kaesŏng, it acts as an interface where the two Koreas reveal a collective memory of their nation's past.

In his book *La mémoire collective*, Maurice Halbwachs already showed that collective memory may diverge sharply between different groups of people, just as a single individual may have contradictory memories of the same event (Halbwachs 1950):

Thus, there are individual memories and collective memories. In other words, the individual has access to two types of memory, but depending on which of these he

chooses, he could adopt two very different or even contradictory attitudes. (Translation of Halbwachs 1950, 35)

These two types of an individual's memory can be translated to the sometimes conflicting Korean collective memory of a cultural nation towards a memory of state. Indeed, individuals are not necessarily bound to one cultural interpretation as they are constantly changing through experience, emotions and new gained knowledge. Still they may feel obliged to retreat to prescribed norms of behaviour and attitudes under social or political pressure as observed during the latest joint excavations in Kaesŏng (IV.III.ii).

II.I.V *CULTURAL DISTINCTION- GROUP DISTINCTION*

Frederik Barth (1969, 14) remarked that

The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed [...] - yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content.

Paradoxically, the cultural distinction fed by interpretation in flux is to define continuity and homogeneity of the group. Likewise in contemporary Korea, the shared cultural nationalism against other nations in reference to common grounds opposes the conflicting ideological state nationalism reflected in the appropriated cultural interpretations of newly drawn state boundaries.

I like to pick up on Barth's methodology to investigate changing interpretations to specify the nature of Korean group dichotomization between state and nation identities. However, I want to specify that similar to the composition of a theme with variations, cultural form is the constant and remains as a stabilizing scheme under which framework cultural content, that is interpretation and appropriations, is subject to change. The fragmentary recollection is evidence of human interaction in the fields of society, politics and ideology that draw upon the dialectic between the past and the present. These recollections and interpretations objectify particular spatial and temporal qualities and their variability.

Individual group members are not necessarily bound to one given cultural interpretation as they are constantly changing it through experience, emotions and new gained knowledge. Still, as a group member they quickly feel obliged to retreat to prescribed interpretations and norms of behaviour under social or political pressure posed from outsiders.

So what Korean cultural content meanings were adopted in the course of Korean history, which invented or changed? Which cultural characteristics continue to define the members of the two contemporary Korean states as one nation, which emphasize their distinction into two separate states? And what are the patterns in the relationship between the construction of cultural

meanings and socio-political events? In order to answer these questions, the relation between culture, governments, institutions, researcher and those who they serve need to be assessed.

Kaesŏng's recorded history of cultural heritage started to gain prominence with the foundation as a capital city.¹⁹ Starting from then, through the dynastic change to Chosŏn up to the beginning of the Japanese Colonisation over five hundred years onwards, to Korean liberation under ROK (U.S.) control in 1945 and the changing territory to the DPRK in 1953, the cultural heritage was subjected to preservation policies, historical narratives and interpretations that all contributed to the plurality of its meanings. These meanings of cultural heritage are consciously or not, reflecting the values and aims of manifold stakeholders in the socio-cultural and political setting of their respective time. Each action or event gives new significance to the heritage object and practice that in turn defines the heritage's value and standing in the socio-political space. Within cultural communication the meaning of space and place is an ideological one. In the course of time and events the dichotomy of group identities between *us* and the *other* are also varied (e.g. Chapters IV.III.iii, V.IV.ii-iii). Depending on the respective time's context and the topic of discussion, group distinctions have been made, may they be state 'internal', orientated after class, gender, region etc or internationally between states, and state-alliances.

This contextual shift of group distinction works similar to fans' attachments to a football club. Depending on the match to be played, the *we* in 'we won' can be an indicator for the supporting group of a school team, the local club, or the national team. According to the situation, the group of *us* is a different one, but it always marks who we have to distinguish us from and stand in competition to.

In the pursuit of Korean rapprochement emotional attachment of the people to the 'Korean nation' group can probably be considered the dominant factor. Nowadays the ROK experiences a loss of emotional attachment to the need of Korean unification as the generations with family ties and first hand experiences and connections are slowly dying and the emotional transmission of positive as well as negative attributed feelings, is interrupted. Here, where the

¹⁹ Of course there are also important archaeological finds from earlier periods, yet their quantity and interpretation feature less prominently in Kaesŏng characterized as the Koryŏ period archetype.

chain of oral transmission and personal connections is broken, a history as experienced through the physical markers of cultural heritage provide an important and valuable emotional alternative with a lineage that links to collective ‘historical’ ancestors. This ancestral (ethnic) collectivism has already been successfully used for national(-istic) purposes (III.III).



Figure 16: Ridiculing ‘Kim Jong-il fashion’ in *Chosŏn Ilbo* 2005 10.31, Whereas Lee Myung-bak is called all possible bad names by DPRK press

One popular method of historical narrative is personalizing history by referring to the exemplary achievements of the Korean people in general and national heroes and prominent figures in particular. The emotional narrative is also taken up in the personality cult of political leaders, deducing the significance of the ‘thick blood’ relation of family kin to the state, and so legitimizing the rule (III.II.i). Even the distinction to the ‘other’, outside the family relationship often aims to legitimise the group, most popularly by praising one’s own group and depreciating the other. This includes, for example, negative historical figures who serve as scapegoats of unfortunate or infamous events (III.I.i) or are personally ridiculed as pictured in the article ‘Kim Jong Il fashion’ in a ROK daily newspaper (Figure 16).

The thus resulting question is if the always less or more ideologically biased cultural interpretation process can free itself of the confrontation against the other, or if exactly that differentiation between the *same* and the *other* (‘we and them’ *Uri* and *kǎi-dŭl*),²⁰ often expressed with an urge for superiority and self-esteem, serves as a driving factor of solidarity in a group joint against ‘the enemy’ (see also *Unmasking the pig* in Chapter IV.III.iii). Are the efforts to direct and shape the shared identity of a Korean *Kulturation* to conform to the values and norms of the group more legitimate than the same efforts employed by the respective states to shape ideological based state identities?

²⁰ The journal *Korean Cultural Anthropology* (Hangukmunhwa illyuhak 한국문화인류학) took up the topic of ‘the same and the other’ in 1998, issue 2, see e.g. the contributing papers of Alexandre Guillemoz and Nancy Abelman.

II.I.VI CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE (UN)CONSCIOUS STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

In the context of cultural and political distinction there is no real universal cultural heritage value, or its validity stands in relation to the territorial or thematic confines of its stage. Next to emotional, historical, national or otherwise meaningful attachments to cultural heritage, the most likely universal cultural value is an aesthetic one, free of any ideological meaning.²¹

Accordingly, it was this free and innocent aesthetic value that was called up in a Korean newspaper dispute initiated by a letter published by the American H.S. Crolly during the Japanese Colonisation period. There Crolly laments the savage and childish bill boards and advertising panels from the Japanese Government hiding important cultural sites in Seoul (*Tonga Ilbo* 1926.11.12).²² The following day the newspaper editor agrees elaborating on further examples, criticizing the ignorance of the Japanese government concerning historical sites.²³

Even though the area belongs to Japan, the government neglects historic sites, whereas many countries preserve pre-historic sites that are important for mankind. Fortunately [the historic areas of] Kyōngju and Kangso are still preserved. Even without historic knowledge and [national] concern *the government should preserve and love historic sites at the very least for aesthetic reasons* and consider the westerner's comments (*Tonga Ilbo* 1926.11.13, added emphasis).²⁴

²¹ In this aesthetic discourse the very broad term *culture*, of course, corresponds more frequently to the fine arts and material art objects, although it also includes theatrical or musical adaptations etc. A famous earlier German statement in favour of the universal value of art and critiquing so-called patriotic art comes from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). In 1801 he writes in his journal *Propyläen*: ‘It is to be hoped that people will soon be convinced that there is no such thing as patriotic art or patriotic science. Both belong, like all good things, to the whole world, and can be fostered only by untrammelled intercourse among all contemporaries, continually bearing in mind what we have inherited from the past’ (quoted in Fritz Strich 1949. *Goethe and World Literature*. Trans. C. A. M. Sym. London: Routledge, 35). A nearly identical citation is repeated in his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre III*.

²² The sites cited by Crolly were Namdae-mun and Kwanghwa-mun Gates, as well as the *kinam bigak* (a stone stele that indicates the distance to all major Korean cities).

²³ So does the author write that the Japanese government installed a memorial stele to the Jin-Chinese Japanese war 1904/05 just in front of the Pyongyang city gates Hyonūn-mun and Silsong-mun, the historic palace site of Koguryō.

²⁴ It might be no coincidence that Ko Yusōp, a famous Korean art historian and intimate connoisseur of Kaesōng, wrote his Master's dissertation on the German art-historian Conrad Fiedler titled ‘藝術的活動と本質の意義’ (The essence and significance of artistic activity) at Keijō Imperial University (since 1946 Seoul National University) in 1930. Fiedler emphasised in his work the autonomy and self-explanatory of artwork.

Further, a Japanese is quoted criticizing the aesthetics of the Seoul Kwanghwa-mun area, where the Japanese General Government building Chosŏn-ch'ongdokpu is placed directly in front of the old royal palace Ch'angdŏkkung.²⁵ Although the author is appealing to the authoritarian Japanese government using Japanese and a westerner's criticism as a legitimising mouthpiece, it also conveys his insinuate criticism as a Korean national that reverses his call for the universal love of [Korean] historic sites for aesthetic reasons. In fact, he signals a boundary dichotomising between the concerned but deprived Korean, aware and knowledgeable of historic sites' significance, and the ignorant, irresponsible foreigners in command, denouncing the discrepant and unjust balance of power.

²⁵ Similarly another Japanese government building is set in front of Taehan-mun gate of Toksugung palace, [today's Seoul city hall]. Cited examples of neglect in Pyongyang are the 'Aeryongdang hall that was moved to Kyoto and the Lelang historic site destroyed by thieves.'

II.II CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT OR CONTROL?

II.II.1 *CULTURAL CONTROL TO SHAPE COLLECTIVE IDENTITY*

It is apparent from this example from the colonial period that knowing of the heritage's meanings, and thus its value, is understood to define the affiliation to a community and secondly to legitimise the community's authority over this heritage, somewhat devaluating the universal aesthetic value. From the Korean nation perspective, the power imbalance between the 'acting' authority of the Japanese coloniser and the 'knowing', legitimate Korean subject provoked a battle for cultural hegemony, hegemony to define the values and self-identity of a Korean nation (see below chapter II.III).

Due to these cultural battles between groups and communities throughout history, may it be between a nation and a state, or opposing factions in a state, cultural heritage interpretation has been a continuous process adapted to the needs and ideological aims of the respective group in distinction against opposition(s). The group that attains cultural legitimacy against the other can also seriously challenge the political legitimacy of that very group. Therefore, even the notion of culture as a tool for 'positively valued' political change could be seen controversially. More so, the question about how culture shapes the possibilities for political change successfully, may it be for nation-building, democratization or pacifying processes, has been a controversial issue for decades.

Most pronounced is perhaps the critique by Roy Richard Grinker (1998) in *Korea and its Futures* who claims that the desired goal of Korean unification grounded on national homogeneity obscures the differences developed since 1945 and prevents the development of realistic measures for unification. Equally Jürgen Habermas in his debate with Paik Nak-Chung (in *New Left Review*, 1996, cited in Shin 2006, 188) warned South Koreans against taking an ethnic consciousness for granted in the process of unification. Referring to the German experience of 'unification by absorption', he reminds Koreans that West Germany's hegemonic unification betrayed overconfidence in ethnic consciousness and unity. German leaders 'trusted too much in a common pre-political stock, hence in something like natural harmony among members of a nation, and paid too little attention to the need for political clarification on the part of the citizens of different backgrounds'.

In the wake of this background, the contact hypothesis will be used as a theoretical basis that underpins new reconciliation strategies through cultural exchange and cooperation. According to the contact hypothesis, interaction between individuals belonging to different groups will reduce prejudice and inter-group tension. The more one gets to know personally individual members of a group, the less one is likely to be prejudiced against that group. The principle is that bringing people together will reduce conflict. Interaction in an exactly defined area starts an integration process that results in interdependencies. A constancy in these defined interactions is then thought to lead to integrate joined organisations led by professional elites (in our case predominately archaeologists and historians). As soon as cooperation is established and cultural exchange thriving, it ideally has a spill-over-effect and is followed up by similar processes in politics.

The hypothesis has been challenged by several researchers and has led to suggest that contact can sometimes lead to hostility and negative attitudes. However the reduction of contact or ignorance would be a worse option so that instead of trying to reduce conflict by reducing contact, the practical alternative is to minimize the tensions that contact produces by promoting cultural harmonisation or homogenisation.

My research draws the basis for such praxis in the theory of communicative action (Habermas 1981). Jürgen Habermas description of socio-cultural reproduction processes in the three life-worlds of culture, society and personality exactly describes the interrelationship between culture and society and how through communicative action and engagement (joint excavation) socio-cultural changes (rapprochement) can be achieved. As adapted in my ‘model of constructing meaning’ (chapter I.II), he argues that the cultural reproduction confirms prior knowledge on a consensus interpretation scheme. In the process of social integration, these cultural norms lead to obligations and likewise to legitimised inter-personal relations, social affiliations. In a crisis with disturbed socio-cultural reproduction processes however, the deficit of cultural reproduction leads to a loss of meaning and cultural legitimacy as well as estrangement, an intimidation of collective identity as currently experienced between the members of the two Korean states.

In an advanced stage with the theory of communicative action applied, the cultural reproduction process leads to a transmission of cultural norms that are critiqued and ultimately introduce new cultural knowledge.

Following an immunisation of core cultural values, society renews legitimising knowledge and coordinates action along inter-subjective valid norms. Despite the (political) difficulties, ultimately, it is only this discursive communicative action approach that can give way new interpretations and social change. Yet, this communicative approach risks falling apart if the communication partners in question aim for diverse outcomes in cultural change as observed in the discussion of chapter IV.III.iii. Then, communication may not be seen as the exchange of shared symbolic objects and informational content, but rather as an attempt to manipulate others in the social group using signs or signals targeted at changing behaviour or the mind of others (Aunger 2009, 37).

Grounded on the recognition of heritage's inherently political interpretation and its structural inequalities, the post-modern critique of the political authority and hegemony that dominates ideological and historical narratives has been a matter of raising interest of study. Bridging the disciplines of history, sociology, political science and archaeology worldwide, current theory questions the authority of official decision makers as either patronizing or discriminative to other people's beliefs, concerns or ideals.

Therein the ideological subjectivity of historiography and consequently of cultural heritage interpretation has come under scrutiny, as those subjects in power can dominate and even oppress other than their own narratives, promoting theirs as universally objective.²⁶ This has serious implications on the way people understand themselves and shape their identity.

The use of the universal unifying cultural narrative common to both Koreas underlies the same criticism. The conflicting class structure, ideology and therefore also partially heritage values between the two Koreas may raise doubts as to whether one can take a universalist standpoint of discourse (Habermas 1998, 19).

So far the result in cultural studies has been to overcome the homogenous interpretation disguised mainly as the nation, and to promote the directly opposing agenda of heterogeneity with a focus on the local, the community and grass-root activities. The underlying trend to examine the understanding and involvement of individuals or specific groups with their heritage or history implies that the observing professional gives maturity to the 'community' and guides their interest and will to do so. However, here again the 'professional guidance' itself is a controlling element that cannot free itself of professional and probably even political normative orders. Whereas it is important to remind oneself of the constructed and volatile nature and interpretation of heritage, the destructive criticism in the theoretical discourse of the authoritarian versus the grass-root has a shortcoming in practical applicability as it is not capable of generating a unifying power. The grass-root approach, like the individual or

²⁶ Already Benjamin and Louis Althusser, for instance, argued that ideologies subtly express and legitimise power, or lack of power, in the interest of the ruling class. In such a 'top-down' view, ideology 'signifies the way men live out their roles in class-society, the values, ideas and images which tie them to their social functions and so prevent them from true knowledge of society as a whole' (Althusser 1971).

communal heritage value, is equally to be observed with some caution. Firstly, as in the Korean case, the grass-root interpretation of heritage has been exerted to strengthen group identity for political ends in a very similar manner to the authoritarian one, for instance to enhance pride and a national consciousness to fight political and thus cultural domination by foreign powers. Here the grass-root movement comes close to movement of political resistance or empowerment.

In Korea, at the very end of the Chosŏn period and during the Japanese Occupation a political and cultural awakening of the ‘grass-root’ nation with hopes for sovereignty emerged on the Korean peninsula that often opposed the ‘authoritarian’ Japanese cultural policy laws, distrusting their declared good motifs. Partly forcefully, the Japanese tried to make the Korean people a Japanese subject by controlling their ‘national spirit’ through culture. Archaeological surveys so served the knowledge of the colonised cultural resources and the interpretations of the colonial historiography. In reaction towards the political reality and its policies, the so-called ‘cultural movement’, a mass popular cultural identification, regarded national cultural consciousness as the unifying force for nation building and national liberation on the basis of shared cultural characteristics, such as language and common moral aspirations (cf. Chapter II.III).

II.II.iv Education and engagement

One of the most immediate results of the *Regulations on the Preservation* proclaimed in 1916 was the establishment of local Historical Remains Safeguarding Committees (*kojŏk posŭnghoe* 古蹟保勝會) that tried to promote the local protection and understanding of cultural properties by ‘engaging and giving maturity to the community’.²⁷ In Kaesŏng the Safeguarding Committee was already established in March 1912. The Committee, selected out of community leaders, took an initiative to protect its old monuments and relics. Ko Yusŏp mentions how this committee gained strength around 1916 (Ko 1936.09.29), probably related to the introduction of the new preservation policy.

Despite these positive trends, there was clearly quite some discrepancy between the pragmatic use of herding grounds and old stones by commoners and the idealistic idea of selected few scholars and policy makers to preserve ancient sites. The conflict and miscoordination between administrations dealing with every day real needs (e.g. city development and security) and cultural preservation efforts is exemplified in a newspaper article. At a time when the local Kaesŏng Historical Remains Safeguarding Committee gained prominence, the article consternates the removal of stones from the Manwŏltae royal palace walls as building material for the Kaesŏng River Improvement Work 開城河川改修工事 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1928.3.27).

A further communal involvement was promoted under the new *Regulations on the Preservation* that proclaimed every 10th September for the safeguarding (*aeho* 愛護) of cultural properties. It determines that the general public partakes in the preservation of its local heritage, comparable what modern management practice describes as ‘ownership’, a feeling of responsibility for a policy by the group, without which the policy is likely to fail (Howard 2003, 7). Likewise already then the Kaesŏng Museum director Ko Yusŏp regarded this public activity highly important for society (Ko 1936.09.29). The public involvement creates an attachment and responsibility for one’s national heritage comparable to the language of nationalism *uri nara*, as

²⁷ The journal *Chosŏn* in 1931 published in two parts an article on the cultural research and preservation policy edited by the Chosŏn Government General (1931a, 102-112; 1931b, 83-97) under the title ‘The origin and development of Korean relics’ research and preservation’ (*Chosŏn kojŏk chosa kŭp pojon yŏnhyŏk* 朝鮮古蹟調査及保存沿革). The first part provides a summary of the committees’ duty (1931a, 111).

In the DPRK the function of the local safeguarding committees was adopted and centralised in 1948, cf. footnote 77.

possessive expressions of nationhood and identity. A news article reports the beautification, *mihwa* 美化,²⁸ of the old palace site Manwŏltae done by pupils, a labour service in gratitude for one's country (*Tonga Ilbo* 1938.08.10). Here the patriotic beautification might have had a less so patriotic smack when done on duty for the 'Labour Corps for Repaying one's Country Favour' (*kŭnloboguk* 勤勞報國) introduced in 1938 by the Japanese Colonisers as part of their National Mobilisation System (*kukmin kaero* 國民皆勞), to boost the war economy a year after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War.²⁹

Another reason to refrain from the grass-root approach as a critique of authoritarian domination is that even if it is just local people's engagement with their local culture, it may be already strongly influenced and shaped by the education in the 'authoritarian meaning', the top-down approach. People are only taught and encouraged to engage with this particularly chosen understanding of their cultural history. Cultural heritage is seen as engagement with the past that sets an example for the present stressing the importance of past glorious achievements of the Korean nation. The North Korean leading authority Kim Jong Il openly prescribed this form of historiography:

There is no need to rehabilitate all the historical sites and relics indiscriminately. Only representative ones which have educational significance and are capable of showing the excellence of our national culture should be rehabilitated.³⁰

²⁸ See also the earlier more generic call and projects for the town's beautification, for instance, appealing to keep the streets clean of garbage etc. in *Tonga Ilbo* 1937.11.4: '開城府美化運動'

²⁹ These 'Labour Corps for Repaying the Country's favour' recruited citizens according to age and gender. The 'patriotic beautification' was surely one of the more pleasant duties given. The late famed North Korean archaeologist Ch'ae Hŭiguk (see footnote 151), for instance, was conscripted to mining from 1938-1945. On the general structure and establishment of these Labour Corps, see: Kim Yunmi 2008. 총동원체제(總動員體制)와 근로보국대(勤勞報國隊)를 통한 '국민개로(國民皆勞)' -조선에서 시행된 근로보국대의 초기 운용을 중심으로 (1938-1941) [The Labor Corps for Repaying Country's Favor (LCRC) in the National Mobilization System- The Early Management of LCRC (1938-1941)], *Hanilminjok munje yŏn'gu* 14: 121- 162.

³⁰ The ROK Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) is charged with preserving 'key parts' of the Korean cultural heritage. Its current head is Yi Kun-Moo (former head of the National Museum of Korea), who was appointed by President Lee Myungbak (*Yonhap*, 2008.03.07). Similar to the quotes by Kim Il Sung and Jong Il, he is quoted on the CHA website with 'Cultural heritage is our ancestors' legacy from the past and what we pass on to future generations.'

The above instruction continues to be observed in contemporary North Korea, where the state-controlled heritage sites act as a cultural tool for public education and remembrance.

Further this national culture was to embellish the workers' spirit and achievements through teaching historic examples as envisioned by Kim Jong Il:

We have to teach our citizens, especially the young people, about our country's historical relics.

Educating a patriotic spirit, well-preserving and maintaining cultural relics and artefacts has an important significance, and increases the national pride and self-esteem of the [engaged] people (Kim Jong Il as cited in Kang Ch'ölgü 2002, 15 and 17).

Safeguarding 'our' Korean cultural heritage is promoted to involve the state and the people. In this spirit, and irrespective professional expertise, all strands of people are included as valuable links in the chain of cultural administration.

Our administration research of the nation's ancient and proud culture is of course done by archaeologists. However, many students participate in excavations of new ancient artefacts. The scientific research is further supported by the great contribution of workers on building sites and farmers in fields, who unearth new ancient relics in great numbers (To 1958).



Figure 17: 'Morning in Chongbong'
1979 by Kang Kyŏngho and Yun
Hisun³¹, Embroidery with silk

Further, Kim Jong Il has set *every April and November as 'months for preservation of cultural remains'* (*Munhwa Yujŏk Aeho Wŏlgan*). He has propagated in various ways the necessity to love national cultural heritage and the tasks to carry out in this period and has introduced good examples of this work to the public (DPRK, Country Study on World Heritage Education in the DPRK, n.a., 2). For this end, each province has its own Culture Remain Patriotic Administration Office that organises the repair and cleaning of historical remains and their circumferences (Figure 17). People are deliberately mobilised for this work in reference to Kim Il Sung's instruction and slogans like 'Cultivation of Patriotic Feelings' (*Yonhap News* 2009.03.15) (see also Chapter III.I.iv).³²

The questionable emancipated individual participation in general heritage practices serves as a confirmation of state ideology and historiography. Is heritage access in Korea then only an active promotion to manifest state ideology inside society and outside as national emblem defined and guided by laws and policies? I will argue yes, but with a strong emotional tie attached. Otherwise the power given to a people that feels wronged, would lead to subjective and strongly ideological narratives mostly in direct opposition to the dominant interpretations

³¹ Chongbong is a Revolution memorial site on the sacred Mt Paektu-san, beneath the newly baptised *Jong Il Peak*, *Chŏngilppong*. It is a celebrated secret camp from the Korean Resistance Army and the native home of Kim Jong Il. At the news of his birth soldiers allegedly inscribed the following words on barked trees: 'Oh, the Bright Star of Mt. Paektu is born', 'Compatriots, the Bright Star, heir of Commander Kim, has risen up over Mt. Paektu' and 'Long live the Bright Star of Mt. Paektu shining all over Korea'. Next to Kim's wood log home, trees bearing the names of revolutionary heroes and revolutionary slogans written by his mother Kim Jong Suk, *anti-Japanese woman hero*, are preserved and venerated (KCNA 2010.12.23, Revolutionary Activities of Kim Jong Suk Remembered, <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2010/201012/news23/20101223-12ee.html>). Apart from the above depicted devoted manual care for the site, nowadays electronic protection systems cover and protect the site, too, as photographed by Eric Lafforgue, 4 May 2010.

³² On the occasion of the annual April 'month of protection of cultural relics' the North Korean News Agency praises the policy of the Worker's Party of Korea on preserving national cultural heritages thanks to which 'a lot of historical relics such as King Tan'gun's mausoleum, King Tongmyŏng's mausoleum, King Wang Kŏn's mausoleum [...] took on their original appearance.' (KCNA 2000.04.27 <http://kcna.co.jp/item/2000/200004/news04/27.htm>)

as seen in the reactions to the Japanese colonial interpretations by the cultural movement described in chapters II.III, III.I.iv III.I.iv Reclaiming cultural heritage for the Korean nation.

As culture is used for social incorporation on two levels, a state and an inter-Korean nation level, it has to play along the nominal and state dominant framework in order to make small steps towards possible enriching changes in public perception of cultural narratives from within. This holds true for the involvement of individual interpretations (Chapter V) as well as the role of Korean joint excavations in rapprochement politics (Chapter IV).

II.III CULTURE AS NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

II.III.1 *RE-READING KOREAN CULTURE DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD*

The historical view to '[...] monitor the changes of season through astronomical observation and enlighten a country and lead it to perfection through the examination of culture.' (*Book of Changes* as cited in Ku 2007) is deeply rooted in the East Asian tradition. History is not merely seen as the past, or a mental construction based on the events in the past, but as an ongoing process that extends into the future in consideration and accordance with the orientation of the started path.

The history of society and the history of culture, as well as the history of the individual, are never ending processes. One can discern a certain organization of these events and changes, which manifests itself in growth, makes contact with, and adjusts itself to its environment and reproduces itself in characteristics that are passed on from generation to generation (Alisjahbana 1966, 3). In this continual process of completion, adjustment and adaptation it is not only the cultural heritage value that is changing, but also society which in turn is influenced by it.

Generally, people seek to relate and adapt their changing experiences by using the past as a marker for interpreting the present. Historians and heritage professionals carry a particular function as active recipients and preceptors of these interpretation processes by which new values change the cultural significance of old forms. Under this aspect one can also understand (cultural heritage) policies in Korea that untouched by the discourses of critical theory, promote with natural confidence the '*preservation, recreation and cultivation of Korean traditional culture and the establishment of its cultural identity*' (MCT, retrieved 2007) or frequently call for the creation of a 'new history' (Walraven 2001, 171-2).

When North or South Koreans refer to shared cultural symbols to subsume their collective identity and reasons for unification, it is not coming from a vacuum, but replicates suitable examples from the past. The cultural nation and its history are important elements with which to advocate group identification and reconciliation. Cultural traditions and heritage play a significant role in this study of national memory. Memory has come to denote the

representation of the past and the making of it into a shared cultural knowledge by successive generations.

History answers the social need for a solution of a contemporary concern to give predictions of the future, like the possibilities of Korean nation-making (branding, or rapprochement). Yet, what do we decipher and transmit these valuable clues? As agents from the past, all the things and stories that have survived and been transmitted up to our times shape our understanding of history and ourselves. For the purpose of this study, ‘cultural heritage’ is very generically defined as the sum of agents that connect the present to the past. Thus, the present knowledge of cultural heritage, passively inherited or actively revived, determines the possible interpretations of the past, the pool of which is then analysed and actively appropriated with focus on contemporary concerns for the future in subjective historiographies.

In reference to Sin Ch’ae-ho (申采浩 1880-1936)’s influential *A New Reading of History*, the *Toksa Sillon* 讀史新論 from 1908, scholars in the arts, conservatives and socialist alike, have written about re-reading Korean culture to attempt social change. Until this day the re-visioning in all historical and cultural disciplines has been called for rather openly.

So what are the revisionists’ impulses? The paradigm of Korean identity in connection to politics and nation-building has been analysed by many scholars in and outside Korea (Jager 2003, Schmid 2000, 2002; Shin 2006). However, it has not been sufficiently studied in conjunction with culture, the perception of historical monuments and artefacts as shaper of this very Korean cultural identity.

Faced with the predicament of being a colonised nation at the outset of the twentieth century, Korean intellectuals moved ‘away from state-centred definitions of the nation’ (Schmid 2002, 142) employing the concept of a national soul (*kukhon* 國魂) or essence (*kuksu* 國粹) untainted by modernity and the political realities of the time.³³ As in the rhetorical question ‘The body of Korea has already died, but will its soul survive?’ posed by Pak Ŭnsik (朴殷植 1859- 1925) in his famous work *Agonising history of Korea* (Han’guk T’ongsa 韓國痛史) from 1915, the material loss of the Korean state is contrasted to a hopeful and stable concept of a Korean essence. This Korean essence was traditionally attributed with characteristic values like benevolence, integrity, self-esteem, and bravery. However, under the dominance of Neo-Confucianism during the Chosŏn dynasty these values were corrupted, and so the general verdict, the reason for the decline of the Korean nation. Nonetheless, once these values are recaptured and strengthened, the Korean soul was believed to be able to resist foreign annihilation, and ultimately regain independence. The ‘call to preserve the soul’ was to ‘resurrect the body’ (Schmid 2002, 141).

In order to preserve the soul and reclaim a national identity, the Korean essence was sought in the historical past, in exemplary events and personae that best reflected its ideal characteristics (Lee Ji-Won 2002). The Movement for the Preservation of National Essence (*kuksu pojon undong*) gained a new dimension when in the aftermath of the March First Movement in 1919, the newly appointed governor general in Korea, Saitō Makoto, introduced a new colonial policy of cultural rule, *bunka seiji* (Robinson 1984, 4). The directive of this new Japanese colonial policy called for ‘promoting Korean *culture* and establishing the foundation of *cultural* politics’. The term ‘culture’ (Jap. *bunka*; Kor. *munhwa*), was first used in Korean since the nineteenth century in a calque from the Chinese and Japanese, but now swept Korean society. The term *culture* also meant, as noted in a *Tonga Ilbo* (1921.01.13) editorial, ‘giving Koreans more opportunities and benefits in education and industry, a practical demand of the Koreans, whose political independence had been frustrated’ (Ku In Mo 2007, 153). In fact, it was adopted by the Japanese for the purpose of calling its colonial ethnic groups the people of the

³³ Andre Schmid describes this phenomenon in detail and adds that terms like national spirit or essence were not unique to Korea, but similarly referred to at the time by China and Japan (2002, 141) to define their national identity, something stable in a time of much external and life style change.

Japanese Empire. Ku In Mo (2007, 156-7) explains in some detail how this cultural concept for nation building was adopted from the use of *Kultur* in Germany, a nationalist stance, against the French and British preference for a more Eurocentric stance of *civilisation*.

Many intellectuals of colonial Korea attempted to form their own identity and representation through Japan's colonial discourse. *Munhwa* came to replace *munmyŏng*, civilisation,³⁴ in the intellectual discourse. The change of terminology can be interpreted in an ideological context where civilisation is linked to the concept of self-cultivation, capitalism and the cultural and political dominance of foreign 'civilised' culture, traditionally Chinese one, and now increasingly Japanese one, that Koreans grew disappointed with and started to oppose. Culture on the other hand, stood as the concept of nation-cultivation that gave more ground for the growing nationalism in maintaining the 'spirit of the nation' in resistance against the Japanese coloniser, which aimed to shape a public mind and reconstruct the national character or essence of the Korean people as a means of realising the values of a common cultural ideal.³⁵ The common cultural ideal in the form of the concept of *munhwa* was widely used as a gesture for unity and nation-building.³⁶ Consequently, the leading figures of Korean nationalists urged for the study and protection of national culture to fight a crisis. In the view of the intellectuals of the day this national crisis was twofold: the national crisis of foreign domination, and its roots in diminished self-identifications lacking in national spirit in competition to other nations. Reclaiming one's own past traditions and culture should become an argument to counter this crisis, by strengthening a collective, national pride.

³⁴ *Munmyŏng* became a common term of the nineteenth century as part of the opening and modernization phase use by liberal 'enlightened' scholars in the Chosŏn dynasty in reference to the Japanese *munmyŏng kaehwa* out of which *Kaehwa* became the political slogan for civilising opening and renewal (a redefinition of the *kaehwa* originating from the Confucian canon *i-ch'ing* yŏkgyŏng Book of Change)

See also: Lim Hyongtaek, 2001. Goryeo Literary Intellectuals and Civilization Consciousness: Historical Change in the Fourteenth Century, *Korea Journal* 41 (3): 30-56.

As a parallel to Fukuzawa Yukichi's well-known *An outline of the civilization*, Yu Kilchun's *Sŏju kyŏnmun* represented how Koreans should approach the Western conception of civilization (Shin 2006, 28).

³⁵ This theory borrows ideas from Bertrand Russell, who at the time was translated and very popular in Japan. Examples of propagated cultural ideals are particularly pronounced in the contemporary magazine *Kaeb'yŏk*, see: Ku In Mo 2007, 161.

³⁶ Shin 2006, 25-40, makes a strong point for the diverse ideology developments in Korea of the time. Equally prominent to the national (cultural) movement, he argues, was a pan-Asian identity-ideology in countering the increasing influence from Western discourses and politics. On 'culturalism' in the Movement on the preservation of National Essence see the article by Lee Ji-Won 2002. A Study on The New Intellectuals's View of National Essence and The Movement of Preservation of National Essence in Korea in 1910s. *Yŏksa kyoyuk* 84(12): 223-263.

II.III.III *PROTECT THE PAST TO BUILD A FUTURE!*

Yang Chae-ha³⁷ (1939, 164-166) starts an essay with the essential question of what should be Korean cultural identity in distinction to the rest of the world. His revelation of the lack thereof develops in a critique on Korean people's ignorant attitude towards their past and consequent neglect of their cultural heritage.

If we are not proud of Mount Kūmgang-san and the Sōkkuram Grotto, what else in the world would there be to be proud of? It is thanks to these sites that we have a high level of heritage. If you want to understand Chosŏn (Korea), you should visit (the city of) Kyōngju and Mt. Kūmgang-san that are the best. We have many ancient remains and natural scenic spots, but at the moment Mt Kūmgang-san and the Sōkkuram Grotto face a problem.³⁸ Due to natural damage like wind and rain, stones disappear and show corrosion and cracking. People did not think of protecting objects from natural damage, arguing '*I do not know anything about current Chosŏn culture, so I also cannot know the culture of olden Chosŏn.*' [...However,] it is better trying to study than not trying at all. I heard from different people their valuation of artefacts. They consider the Silla and earlier periods as the most precious, Koryŏ period artefacts are regarded as bad looking, the very worst valued being those of the Chosŏn period. *The prevalent idea is that Korea's cultural history gradually declined.* So I realised, it is true that Korean study degenerates.

He continues to lament that Korean heritage is not protected and expresses his worries about many heritage objects that are moved abroad. But he also considers it lucky that now at least somebody [i.e. Japan?] is protecting the heritage. In the last part of the essay he criticises the Korean people and their disability to protect their cultural heritage, notably a frequent argument for the Japanese colonial government to take that same heritage in their custody. At the same time he expresses his resentment about the only original copy of an ancient document being in Japan and knowing that if it would be in Korea, its condition would be bad. This leads Yang to conclude:

'It is so sad. We do not have any original! [...] *If we want to build our future, we have to protect our past!*' (emphasis added)

³⁷ Yang Chae-ha (梁在廈 1906-?) was acting as a journalist since the Japanese colonial rule. After Independence he became a politician with no party affiliation in the second ROK government (1950-54). During the Korean War he went to the DPRK, where he is thought to have died. His mysterious disappearance gives South Korean scholarship reason to suggest that he was in fact kidnapped during the war. See: Chōng Chin-sōk 정진석 2006. *The 6.25 Korean War* (6.25 chōnjaeng nambuk 6.25 전쟁 남북), Seoul: Kip'arang.

³⁸ After the dismantling and restructure of the artificial Silla period grotto done by the Japanese in 1914-15, drainage pipes were installed on the outside of the dome to prevent leakage in 1917. But for no avail. Between 1920 and 1923, another restoration took place, but the problems of humidity even became worse through the waterproof asphalt that was topped on the concrete (Yu Hong-June 1999, 208).

Yang points here at various issues. For one the Japanese colonial control of the Korean nation that is not merely politically but also culturally. Their dominant power over cultural interpretations had been particularly pronounced in laws and policies when enacting the first encompassing cultural property and protection laws on colonial Korea (1910-1945). The first regulations, the *Temple and Shrines Laws* (*kosasa pojon* 古社寺保存), were put in effect under the Japanese General Government (Chosŏn Ch'ongdokbu 朝鮮總督府) in 1911, one year following the annexation of Korea (Chosŏn Ch'ongdokbu 1931a, 102). These laws were more than cultural preservation laws. They also included regulations on daily affairs and activities of temple administration; for instance 'controlling the issuance of permits to hold public religious events; and regulations dictating the use of temple estates, including surrounding forests and harvested products' (Pai 2001, 21). More pronounced interventions followed with the promulgation of the *Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics* (*Koseki oyobi ibutsu hōzon kitei* 古蹟及遺物保存規則) on 4 July 1916 (Chosŏn Ch'ongdokbu 1916.07.04).³⁹ These were publicised in the Korean language media of the day (e.g. *Maeil Sinbo*, 1916.07.09) and accompanied by the formation of the *Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities* (Chōsen Koseki Kenyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究會, also known as 고적조사위원회). It was in charge of researching and overseeing the antiquities' administration.⁴⁰

One of the founding members of the Committee on Korean Antiquities was the ethnologist Torii Ryūzō (鳥居 龍藏 1870- 1953). Torii was the first to conduct intensive ethnological field research and archaeological surveys in Northeast Asia, inclusive the Korean peninsula (Pai 2001). His major interest was the study of prehistoric sites in search of Japanese ancient civilization. The study focus was subject to the Imperial Japanese assertion that Japan and Korea shared common ancestral origins (*Nissen dōsorōn*) to justify Japan's annexation of

³⁹ In the early years the laws did not distinguish between artificial and natural heritage showing that all remains handed down from the past are commonly called 'ancient, old heritage'. However, the antiquities were categorised into ancient sites *kojōk*, crafted metal and stone objects *kūmsōkmul* 金石物, 'other relics' *kit'-ūi yumul* and scenic sites *myōngsūngjidūng*. Interestingly though they did not include immaterial or folk culture (Yu 2004, 21). In the early years the laws did not distinguish between artificial and natural heritage showing that all remains handed down from the past are commonly called 'ancient, old heritage'. However, the antiquities were categorised into ancient sites *kojōk*, crafted metal and stone objects *kūmsōkmul* 金石物, 'other relics' *kit'-ūi yumul* and scenic sites *myōngsūngjidūng*. Interestingly though they did not include immaterial or folk culture (Yu 2004, 21).

⁴⁰ The late DPRK director of the Kaesŏng Museum would later blame the committee's 25 members to have 'created a plunder institution 랫탈기구 represented by Japanese and government true scientists (Wang Sŏngsu 2003, 51). On this topic see also chapter III.I.iv.

Korea in 1910 and its subsequent policy of assimilating the Korean people as Japanese subjects (Allen 2008, 105). At this time archaeology was still not a standing discipline, but more considered a tool in ethnological research. Following the methodology of his mentor Tsuboi Shōgorō (坪井正五郎 1863-1913), ethnology and archaeology were closely related, in that ethnology could provide the answer to the central question in Japanese archaeology which was to distinguish ‘what kind of life-styles, physical characteristics, knowledge, arts and crafts, can be correlated to the remains that our ancestors have left behind’. (Tsuboi 1889, 19 as cited in Pai 2002). The Office of Governor General in Korea set about to create a systematic examination and inventory of material remains on the Korean peninsula. Between 1910 and 1930, a series of three expeditions were commissioned that were carried out primarily by scholars from Tokyo Imperial University.

Sekino Tadashi (関野貞 1868-1935), an architect trained at Tokyo Imperial University, was a leading figure in these expeditions, as well as and one of the influential minds behind the classification and historical interpretation of the sites they studied. Thanks to him and following young Japanese scholars, for the first time the cultural material remains of Korea were collected and examined methodologically and their photograph kept for future reference. Every year from 1916 until 1922 a relic survey report was published and often added new designations. For purposes of the Governor-General administration, the sites were grouped hierarchically into four different categories according to their perceived historical value and worthiness of preservation.

The survey and research of historic sites all around the country were propagated to serve their preservation⁴¹ that also resulted in the consecutive publication of a comprehensive 15tone compilation of Korea’s cultural heritage (*Chosŏn kojŏk tobo* 朝鮮古蹟圖譜) from 1916-1933. Gradually the reach of the *Regulations on the Preservation* were extended, for example to cultural relics preserved in temples in 1929 (*Maeil Sinbo*, 1929.04.28).

⁴¹ Kaesŏng was surveyed e.g. in 1909, see (1931, 91 chapter 4a ‘na’), 1909.03.18. ‘古蹟조사’ (Ancient remain survey), *Taehan Maeil Sinbo*. Articles in the daily newspaper *Maeil Sinbo* concerning these surveys are: 1918.02.17, ‘Survey of Korean old remains’ (Chosŏn kojŏk chosa 朝鮮古蹟調査); 1918.02.19. ‘Survey of Korean old remains’ (朝鮮古蹟調査, Chosŏn kojŏk chosa); 1919.10.10 ‘About the Korean Survey of Korean old remains’ (朝鮮歷史古蹟調査에 대하여, Chosŏn yŏksa kojŏk chosa-e taehaja); 1924.04.22. ‘Next year ancient remain survey’ (本年의古蹟調査, Ponnyŏn-ŭi kojŏk chosa); 1934.04.29. ‘(yobojon-ŭi yumul kojŏk chosa ch’ongsuch’ŏnyuyŏjŏm 요保存의 寶物 古蹟調査 총수천유여점); 1936.01.01. ‘Ancient relic preservation survey’ (kojŏk chosa pojon 古蹟調査保存). *Chosŏn Ilbo* 1926.08.04. ‘Intention to restore ancient relics-designation of South Gate and East Gate’ (고적유물을 보존코자- 남대문, 동대문도 등록).

On 9 August 1933 the second cultural policy law was introduced, the *Chosŏn Treasure, Historical Remains, Scenic spots and Natural Monument Preservation Law* (조선 보물 고적 명승 천연기념물 보존령) (Yu 2004, 20; *Chosŏn Ilbo* 1933.08.05) that grouped the cultural heritage in four different categories. Accordingly, the regional Safeguarding Committees surveyed the respective regions for suitable designations. The number of designations was regulated under a so-called ‘Priority Protectionism’ according to available funding as once designated, the government was responsible for the cultural property’s ‘well-being’ (Yu 2004, 30).

On a general meeting of the Preservation Committee the designation of 252 cultural remains was publicly proclaimed on 3 May 1934 in an article of the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* titled ‘The pride in 252 ancient remains from Korea’s 5000 years old brilliant culture that were designated national treasures: they will be preserved for the future by the *Preservation Committee of Chosŏn treasures and ancient sites* 朝鮮寶物古蹟保存會 who divided the remains in 210 national treasures, 21 historical relics, and 21 natural treasures’. The next day the *Chosŏn Ilbo* (1934.05.04) publishes a long article listing all the 252 treasures by name according to the above three categories, where the national treasures are further subdivided in wooden buildings, sculpture, (metal) handicraft, stone objects. Among these prided treasures was Kaesŏng’s royal palace site Manwŏltae. The article also clearly refers to the purpose of the designation of these treasures as ‘to permanently preserve Korea’s pride’.⁴² Korean people’s understanding of their cultural heritage was so introduced and significantly shaped by Japanese scholarship and preservation policies. As pointed out earlier by Yang, this responsibility of Korea’s past in the hands of the Japanese had the positive effect that previous neglected sites were taken care of, but at the same time lead to a loss in Korea’s cultural properties kept in the home territory. Koreans themselves are to be blamed that they are alienated of their own past that Japanese have taken control of. Anchored in the prevailing neo-Darwinist thought of the time, a fighting spirit was tried to be instilled that aimed to avoid the Korean ‘extinction of the weak’ and to galvanize the nation’s proud past in the battle for the ‘survival of the fittest’.

⁴² News paper articles continue to report of progress in excavation and new repair activities that shed some light on the predominant practices of designation, removal and repair, for instance *Tonga Ilbo*, 1937.06.11 ‘102 proud historical relics permanently preserved, designated and removed. Prohibition of farming inside the Lelang fortress walls, repair Mt Ch’ilsŏng-san’s T’onggun-jŏng. Kaesŏng’s West Gate belfry removed and newly reconstructed’. *Maeil Sinbo*, 1936.01.01. The construction of museums and the work of ancient remain preservation survey’.

By large it was a period in which Korean intellectuals reacted to the colonial political reality and cultural policy by searching for their proud and longstanding culture (Kwŏn Hwan 1931.01.20+21). Finding an alternative to the official Japanese historiography and to understand Korea's national past, present and future was the goal of many nationalist historians regardless of socialist or conservative orientation. Notably there were no Korean archaeologists or historians conducting archaeological research. It was a Korean intellectual cultural discourse that strongly advocated a nation encompassing common cultural ideal to strengthen the people. The nationalists investigated their 'own' history and heritage, searching for evidence of uniqueness and greatness. For this end the Japanese cultural policies were thus not attacked, but resorted to, in support of publicising a proud awareness of Korea's cultural past.⁴³

Korean historians attempted to prove that Japanese culture in fact originated from the Korean peninsula, turning around the interpretation of diffusionist and cultural sphere theories used and taught by Japanese scholars (Kim Kwang-ok 2004, 255). A case in point might be the co-translation of Oswald Menghin's 1931 *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (World history of the Stone Age) into Japanese 石器時代の世界史, a work emblematic for the theory of cultural spheres, done by the Korean To Yuho, a doctoral graduate from Vienna University in economic (cultural) history, who later should play a dominant role in early DPRK archaeology. Surely this translation was of interest for the Japanese colonialists, as the underlying research theory lays ground for a cultural legitimisation of Japanese colonisation. Yet for the colonised Korean with socialist if not communist leanings it might at first appear a rather awkward choice that might be grounded in the aforementioned interpretational turn of Japanese theories.

Japanese influence was not only prevalent in Korean academia of its time. In both Koreas after liberation Japanese introduced cultural laws were in effect until after the Korean War. Until today, the ROK conservation policy 'Cultural Properties Protection Law' and the DPRK 'Cultural Relic Preservation Law', reveal their colonial legacy.

⁴³ Even after Korean Independence, despite various new tendencies that developed in regard to national unity, Kim Il Sung's public speech on 'Planning the active prosperity of National Culture', issue 17 out of 20, in March 1946 (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 1985) still recalled national culture and the duty of its protection to secure freshly found democratic and social developments in the DPRK.

Recalling past heroes

In addition to the material remains and relics, distinct Korean achievements and exemplary figures were recalled. Particularly national heroes or outstanding personalities from the often remote past were recovered and emphasised to guard Korean national ideals and self-respect. The heroes were symbols of all the qualities one liked to possess or the ambitions to satisfy. They incorporate sentimental ideals to which the Korean nation aspired to and that aimed to determine the ways in which to behave or at least think.

The reference to these past glorious examples by nationalist scholars, most prominently Sin Ch'aeho, Pak Ŭn-sik and Chang Chi-yŏng, were considered a necessity in nation building and survival. It entitled the bearers of culture to battle the general public's low cultural self perception. The worship of heroes thus helped to enhance the public opinion of Korea's cultural past. Most importantly, the reference to remote ancestors and past heroes facilitated to claim proud cultural distinction, national identity as well as the political right for independence. Pak Ŭn-sik (1906) taught that

History embodies the spirit of a nation and heroes are its vigour. All civilised nations of the world respect their history and worship their heroes (translation by Jager 2003, 9).

Notably these repeated references to national great men published in newspaper articles stood among an equal amount of introductions to foreign, that is, western great men. These were covering a wide spectrum of characters, for example the series on *Bronze statues of great men* (*Tonga Ilbo* 1932.02.4-14) featuring Copernicus, Goethe and Schiller, John Ruskin, Bismarck, Washington, Lenin, Luther, Beethoven, Aurelius, Abraham Lincoln, Columbus, etc. These western worthies served as reference models for Sin Ch'aeho's (1909) envisioned (political) 'hero of the new 20th century Korea' (Tikhonov 2008, 111-113).⁴⁴

Next to the mythical progenitor of the Korean people, Tan'gun, it was the Chosŏn king Sejong who was mainly chosen for his cultural contribution to the Korean nation with the invention of

⁴⁴ The comparison of Korean culture and thus national strength to the strong states of the time is further highlighted by an article in the *Chosŏn Ilbo* (1936.09.29). It investigates the 'Current movement of world culture. The trend as seen in the three countries America, Russia and China. How is their cultural movement kept alive? An examination of the origins of the social development' (世界文化의 現動態. 米, 蘇, 中 三國打診. 그들의 문화운동은 어떻게 움직이나? 社會發展의 母胎檢討).

the Korean script *han'gŭl*. As by 1900 the use of classical Chinese as the official form of writing was linked to issues of cultural dependence, and the use of *han'gŭl* became a cause celebre among nationalists to affirm Korean cultural identity vis-à-vis China and Japan (Robinson 1984, 34). The focus on a nationally shared language was highlighted by the promotion of the unique Korean script as a Korean national heritage that would prove Korea's advancement and distinguish Korea from the rest of the world, although it was previously only used by women and the lower class (Shin 2006, 28).

Until today *han'gŭl* has remained a prided legacy of Korean cultural distinction and independence, reflected in South Korea in the many memorials set up in remembrance of its invention.⁴⁵ Further there was the late sixteenth century Admiral Yi Sunsin, who was highly respected by the people as 'supra-human' (To 1935, 133). The so-called Movement for Ancient Remains Preservation (*yujŏk pojon undong* 遺跡保存運動) venerated him for rebuking successfully a Japanese Invasion by Hideyoshi (Ko Yŏnghwan 1931.07.5, 9, 10+12). A famous citation of his reflects the patriotic spirit aimed at in the choice of heroes: 'If we are willing to fight to death, we shall live, and if we are not, we will perish' (Figure 18).⁴⁶ It was therefore considered a 'National shame that the [preservation of the] shrine of the loyal subject Yi Sunsin suffers under neglected duties' (*Tonga Ilbo* 1931.05.14.). In the same year 1932 the restoration efforts took place for Tan'gun's tomb, the shrine with a portrait of the admiral Yi Sunsin was also restored as part of the Movement for Ancient Remains Preservation with the financial support (and tears of

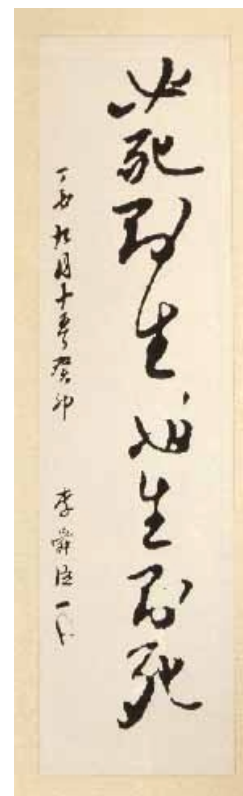


Figure 18: Calligraphy of Admiral Yi's popular exclamation 'If we are willing to fight to death, we shall live, and if we are not, we will Perish'.

⁴⁵ Already in the early twentieth century the distinct Korean characteristic was presented to be inherent in the Korean script, see Kim Yunkyŏng 金允經 1932.4. The specifics and value of the Korean script (Hunminjŏngŭm-ŭi sŏngjil-kwa ka'ch'i 訓民正音의性質과價値), *Tongkwang* 東光, 4(4): 62. In 2009 the building façade of the Ministry for Culture, Sports and Tourism was fully covered with a printed cloth in celebration of the Korean *han'gŭl* invention.

⁴⁶ In a similar vein, the cultural historian Do Cyong-ho (To Yuho) stresses in his dissertation from 1935 the goodwill of Koreans to fight (even though an unfortunate situation did not grant them success) and that 'Korea has to continue its battle to achieve victory', in this case against the exploitive Yangban class brutally opposing the Christian teachings of people's equality and freedom (1935, 69).

blood *hyŏllyu*) of the people.⁴⁷

Another hero who gave his life in loyalty to his country (ruler) was the local hero of Kaesŏng, Chŏng Mongju (see section V.II.ii). The *Chosŏn Ilbo* (1926.06.29) published an article accompanied by a picture of the Sŏnjukkyo bridge, the place of his murder, ‘in praise of the home region 郷土禮讃, where his loyal blood remained since 500 years and will be preserved to shine for another million years’.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Contemporary Korean politics still address Korea’s cultural past and ancestors as an important part of their political messages, so for instance Kim Dae-jung in his inaugural speech on 25 February 1998. *‘This is a great history of our patriotic ancestors who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country’s independence, our militaries who heroically fell in action; our peasants who cultivate soil under the blazing sun, pouring rain and in raging wind, our workers who day in day out work at enterprises, our young people who devoted their youth to the struggle for democracy.’ And ‘spirits of our ancestors support and inspire us’.* (Pokholkova 2009, 84).

⁴⁸ The reclaim of the national past and local pride in the battle for independence is also reflected in the movement for the promotion of domestic products *mulsan changryŏ undong* 物産獎勵運動 in the colonial period.

II.III.IV *THE MINJOK NATION, A HETEROGENEOUS GROUP*

Nonetheless the Korean national group was by no means a harmonious and homogenous group. Between 1920 and 1925 the nationalist movement split along ideological lines. Moderate nationalist leaders who advocated gradualist reformist solutions to the problem of independence, by strengthening the nation from within as expected from the cultural movement, *munhwa undong*, and a younger, more radical group that advocated social revolution and overt resistance to Japanese imperialism (Robinson 1984, 6). The political left (liberal, progressive) and right (conservative, often Japanese collaborators) wings and the socialists (who today are understood as communists in the ROK), critiqued each other and their understanding of the nation, *minjok*. The socialists critiqued the notion of *minjok* for making people a capitalistic subject and rather wanted to emphasize the revolution of the class. However, according to Lee (1993) they failed to propagate this idea to the people, because the original and wide spread national sense of *minjok* as race was prevailing.

This divide in the approach towards the *minjok* was nurtured by the new experiences and ideas of thought brought into Korea by a new generation of scholars that grew up in the Colonial Period. Beginning with the opening of Keijō Imperial University (京城帝国大学) in Seoul in 1924 under Japanese scholarship, a limited number of Koreans were educated in western academic theories and methodologies predominantly imported via Japan. From the mid 1920s-end 1930s there was a boom of visiting also foreign universities, mostly in Japan, but also in Europe, China and the Soviet Union. These young scholars came from very different upbringings, but were predominately offspring of the Korean elite contributing to various new political and social thoughts shaping a new Korean nation identity, not only vice versa the Coloniser, but its own past and future aspirations.

The nationalists Chŏng In-bo (鄭寅普 1893-1950), who went to Beijing University as a young Confucian literate, and An Chae-hong (安在鴻 1891-1965) who attended Waseda University in Japan as a Christian, were both ‘interested in outlining Korean history in terms of the rise and fall of the national spirit. However, they allowed much room for international confluence and cooperation’ (Kwon Yonung 2000, 36). A totally different approach to Korean history was brought back home from students from the history department at Tokyo

Imperial University, the Rankean school of historiography.⁴⁹ They purported to write history objectively, ‘as it actually was’ (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*) with focus on value free factualism scrutinizing documents. Due to Japanese institutional support in Korea, it soon became established as the mainstream of Korean historiography, but other than their Japanese colleagues, the Korean scholars only gained prominence after Liberation.

On the other hand there was a more politically educated group of students. A Kaesŏng related example heavily mediatised in the newspapers was that of a group of around twenty graduates from the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) in Moscow or ‘Russia Communist University’ (*Chungoe Ilbo* 1928.11.30). Upon their return one of the graduates, Kim Chŏnghwan⁵⁰ founded the Farmer Party in Kaesŏng in 1927 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1927.11.07). The authorities charged that party as an underground organization with the suspicion of being communist or propagating communist thought. Japanese police arrested the founder and participants on several occasions, the last time at the fifth public meeting at Manwŏltae on 29 June 1929 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1928.11.30.+12.1; 1929.6.29+30; *Chungoe Ilbo* 1929.06.30; *Maeil Sinbo* 1929.06.30).⁵¹

The majority of the Kaesŏng young elite was coming from influential families and mostly educated in Japan founded the local newspaper *Koryŏ Sibo* 高麗時報 with the aim to promote Korean, and particularly Kaesŏng culture in 1933.⁵² Notably, after Korea’s liberation the ideological ideas of the paper’s contributors developed in different directions. However, the division of Korea only little later also caused a division of historians in Korea. According to their leaning or conviction, some would retreat to the North and others having a career in the South. As a result to this separation, and further enhanced by the two Korean governments’ hegemonic ideologies, the earlier heterogeneous groups of scholars diminished into two extremes of scholarship.

⁴⁹ One year after the foundation of Tokyo Imperial University in 1885, the German historian Professor Ludwig Riess, a disciple of Leopold von Ranke, was hired to teach in the history department. There he taught Rankean historiography until 1902 and became the mainstream in Japanese academic historiography (Kwon Yonung 2000, 36).

⁵⁰ Kim Chŏnghwan (金貞煥 ?-?) was born to a slave. He graduated at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) also known as the Far East University in Moscow that aim it was to create ‘cadres capable of serving the revolutionary requirements of the toiling masses in the colonial and dependent countries of the East’ (J. V. Stalin 1925, *Pravda*, No. 115, May 22).

⁵¹ Still in the DPRK on Farmer’s Day people would gather at the Koryŏ royal palace site Manwŏltae for picnics.

⁵² For a regional newspaper The *Koryŏ Sibo* was very popular and widely read. It appeared twice a month first published on 15 April 1933 until 16 April 1941 when it was forced to close by the Japanese government. After liberation until the outbreak of the Korean War it was issued again.

One notion to position and firmly root the Korean nation was that of Koreanness (*chosŏnjŏk*), and Korean spirit (*chosŏnsŏng*). It was used by the different political groups and had particularly developed by the beginning of the 1930s as a reaction towards the Japanese coloniser and their cultural policy. The Korean counter movement became a nationalistic one, with emphasize on the national Korean spirit and culture, a cultural movement with a call for essential Korean national ideals (Lee Jie-Won 1993, 748⁵³).

The left and right both critiqued the socialists attitude as divisionists, emphasizing like the moderate nationalist An Chae-hong that ‘we (the Korean nation) have to join forces’ (‘Minjok Chŏngmang’, *Chosŏn Ilbo* 1931.10.2). In various newspaper articles of the early 1930s he calls for the need of cooperation between nationalist and socialist groups in order to succeed with the national liberation movement. Lee Kwang-su (李光洙 1892- 1950), a writer for the *Tonga Ilbo* newspaper, today popularly known not only for his prose, but also as a right wing ideologue and Japanese collaborator, also critiqued the socialist denial of Koreanness arguing that it is an unchangeable heaven given fate and destiny of the Korean people to be one (Lee Jie-Won 1993, 750). Rebuilding Korea was believed to be achieved through cultural reform that stresses the characteristic or essence of Korean culture and thought. ‘Revolution without Korean spirit is empty (a puppet)’, cultural and thinking reform (*Munhwa-kwa sasang hyŏksin*) are only possible when based on nationalism (Lee Jie-Won 1993, 751+753).

Despite some continuing differences, in the 1930s the left and right wings followed the same line of argumentation on the cultural nation, but with different views on how and when to fight for independence. The article ‘Aiming for perfection of Nation and Culture’ (*Tonga Ilbo* 1934.01.02) advocated national union and solidarity through national culture and its ample manifestations in history without distinguishing class and regions. Cultural heritage, *munhwa yusan*, became the visible marker of the national spirit, a medium holding the very substance (essence) of Koreanness, celebrated in the newspapers since 1930 (Lee Jie-Won 1993, 754).

There was a lively debate, also questioning the nationalistic approaches and distinguishing between the various degrees and implementations of nationalism.

⁵³ Occasionally the Korean movement and its call for cultural ideals is compared to the independence movement in India (Lee Jie-Won 1993, 750, n.18).

One author (Pak Sajöm, *Tonga Ilbo* 1935.01.01), for example, regards *nationalism* (*minjokjuŭi* 民族主義) and Nazism as wrong examples of patriotism (*ae'gukjuŭi* 愛國主義) as they are 'narrow minded'. Quoting the slogan 'Korean cultural heritage', he questions the use of the pronominal 'Korean', and why exactly it is supposed to be *Korean* cultural heritage linking it to current nationalistic trends, developed in the 1930s cultural movement era.⁵⁴ The instrument par excellence spreading the knowledge and pride in Korean uniqueness was the Korean Studies Movement, *Chosŏnhak Undong*. The term Korean Studies (*Chosŏnhak*)⁵⁵ was defined by An Chae-hong as 'systematic knowledge constructed from studies of things unique to Korea, the characteristics of Korean culture and the distinctive traditions of Korea' (Kim Kwang-ok 2004, 255).

The bias in historical and cultural studies for 'emotional' nationalistic purposes was wide spread and consciously expressed as, for example, by the nationalist historian Ch'oe Namsŏn (崔南善 1890-1957):

History cannot and should not be regarded as a science with no heart because it is learning for the sake of the people. Historical studies should have purpose and emotion behind them.

(cited in Allen 1990)

On contrast, Pak Yŏng-hŭi⁵⁶ appealed to step away from emotion and turn to reality when reappraising Korean culture and its study (1934). He states that Koreanness is suppressed by Japanese, but critiques that people start to think of the Korean spirit as a natural given emotion of the Korean people.

⁵⁴ Similarly, contemporary artists like Young-Hae Chang Heavy Industries, critically address that 'Cultural identity is something we don't want to be infected with', in »CULTURAL IDENTITY, NOTHINGNESS, AND LONELINESS« (2006). Their artistic statement was also reflected in the issue they made of the problematic title of the contemporary art exhibition in Berlin 2005 'Four From Korea'. For a critical response to Pak Sajöm's series at his time see: Sin Nimch'ŏl 1935.1.29, *Tonga Ilbo*.

⁵⁵ The term *Chosŏnhak* was first coined by Chung Inbo in 1931, in a series of articles titled *Chosŏn Kosŏ Haeje* (Bibliographical notes on Korean classics) published in the daily *Tonga Ilbo* (Kim Kwang-ok 2004, 255).

⁵⁶ Pak was a literary critique and journalist who was born 1901 in Seoul and studied in Japan from 1920-21. His date of death is unknown, but said to be in the DPRK. Pak was a co-founder of the Korean socialist Esperanto literary group KAPF (Korea artista proleta federatio) in 1923 and promoted proletarian literature in cooperation with Japanese intellectuals. His political leaning shifted with his public recantation in 1934 to a conservative ideology compatible with pro-Japanese collaborative activities, in which he enthusiastically engaged from the mid-1930s (comment from Tikhonov, 2011).

The ‘nationalistic nationalism’ wants to unite the thoughts of the people, emphasizing the newly discovered value that thinking Korean is the power of a nation movement against the regulated and disturbed view on Chosŏn culture, as history and custom, under the Japanese government. The research of Korean essence in all arts, particularly the study of history, culture, and mother-tongue literature booms. One of the trends one can observe is the publication about folk culture to teach about Chosŏn real life, as there is the realisation that if there is no knowledge about the past’s reality, people in their ignorance will consider Chosŏn- Korea lowly, judging the dynasty for losing its independence to the Japanese after a 500 year period. One of the slogans of Koreans is: *As Korean you should know about Korea*, so that many young students take up the study of the Chosŏn dynasty. Still some people have a negative opinion about Korean studies, but we have to know about the former Korea to be able to exist today. Without understanding the relationship of things, there is no meaning. However, the emotional feeling of Koreanness is not sufficient. There is a need for a theoretical approach to study Koreanness. Let’s find something useful and act!’

Pak hints to some of the methodological issues in the study of Korea and the recognition of Koreanness that compare to contemporary issues, for example, of South Korean cultural branding abroad. His objectives in furthering knowledge of Korea are practical applicability and permanence.

We have to create a system of past Korean cultural heritage, but how to create a system? How can *chosŏnjŏk* affect modern Korean culture? First and foremost the combination of theory and action is important. After the subject discussion we should put the results into action. If there is no aim for action, there is no meaning. Sometimes people believe too much in principle and so loose the objective of action. Being objective and to act is paramount. There are two points to follow. In order to understand the history, the controversial arguments for and against Korean studies need to be shown and secondly, the general understanding of Chosŏn culture and history and its development should be seen in the contemporary reality as affected by other countries. The study should avoid temporality and aim for permanence!

Further the motivation for Korean study is life-style: *chosŏnjŏk* should not merely be a symbol, but have significance for real life. The purpose of collecting old cultural relics is the relationship with daily normal life and to improve it. Only with the improvement of lifestyle, culture too can develop. The pure recognition of the relationship of life and culture is not satisfactory. First the answer to the questions of what is the most effective thing in life and what is people’s life-style need to be answered. The controversial thoughts of the Korean academia are independent to the Korean movement. The new study gives raise to many more study fields on Chosŏn history and before totally understanding it, we should not make any conclusions and (emotionally) critique before having completed research. Instead we should concentrate on the scientific study with

personal experience (inductive reasoning). Developing life needs scientific study. ‘Just do it!’

The establishment of the Kaesŏng museum was part of the trend to protect the past and build a national future. The Kaesŏng Safeguarding Committee 開城保勝會, founded in March 1912 with Yi Kibang at its head, opened a small gallery with a collection of Koryŏ period relics in front of Kaesŏng's Manwŏltae royal palace site in 1916 (Ko 1936.9.29 in *Chosŏn Ilbo*; Chin 1970, 167), an effort to provide a space for artefacts of different private collectors.



博物館全景及內景一部

Figure 19: Photographs from in- and outside the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum (Kaesŏng Provincial Museum 1936, plate 1)

However, little later the committee had become just a name without content and the gallery was mostly inaccessible (Ko 1936.9.29; *Tonga Ilbo*, 1933.11.04). Only with the celebration of the administrative level promotion of the town Kaesŏng from *ŭp* (邑)⁵⁷ to *pu* (府) in 1930, the new major Kim Pyŏngt'ae initiated the project of building a Kaesŏng Provincial Museum (Figure 19).⁵⁸

With the starting donation of 10,000 Won from the Japanese company Mitsui Bussan 三井物産 and additional donations by the Hansŏng and Siksŏn banks, as well as Kaesŏng's influential families⁵⁹ the museum was realised with an initial amount of 28,000 Won (Ch'oe Sŏkyŏng 2001, 149).

Out of the two choices for a ground, the main building of 87 *p'yŏng* (坪, ca.300 square meter) and 2-3 small annex buildings were built in the Taehwachŏng area, a site in the vicinity of the

⁵⁷ With the dynastic change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn, Kaesŏng lost its status as capital in 1394 and became a township, *pu*. In 1906 it was further degraded to county, *kun*.

⁵⁸ More slogan than article, the *Chosŏn Ilbo* on 4 January 1931 calls: '20,000 Won cost estimate for the museum in Kaesŏng; The protection of historical objects in the old capital; The begin of construction'; A later article summarises the good reasons (the city upgrading and the pride in Koryŏ artefacts) for the museum construction on 5 November, the actual construction costs are quoted as over 28,000 Won. (*Maeil Sinbo* 1931.05.07.

'開城博物館 建設基金滿額' Kaesŏng Museum high construction fund)

⁵⁹ The individuals particularly mentioned as donators in the *Kaesŏng Pulip Museum guide* (in Japanese) from April 1936 are Kim Wŏnbae, Kim Chŏngho, Son Pongsang, Han Myŏngsŏk, Kong Sŏnghak, Yu Hanmo, and An Sŏngŏk (1936, 51).

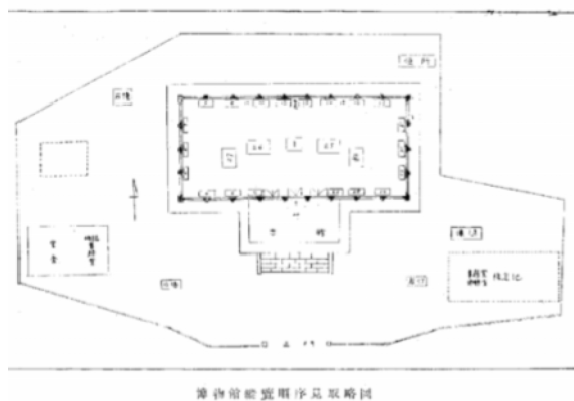


Figure 20: Ground map of the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum and the organisation of its exhibition display (Kaesŏng Provincial Museum 1936, plate 2)

city hall on Mt Chanam-san behind the Sungyang sŏwŏn. The site was decided for on suggestion of banks and companies (*Tonga Ilbo* 1931.04.23). In July 1931 the topping-out ceremony was held (*Maeil Sinbo* 1931.07.03). Built out of pink concrete stone (*injosŏk*) for fire resistance its façade measured nine *kan* (column intervals) and its sides four. The central three intervals of the façade were the entrance that also provided daylight to the building (Chin Hongsŏp 1970, 167).

The Kaesŏng Provincial Museum 開城府立博物館 officially opened on 1 October 1931 (*Maeil Sinbo* 1931.10.31; 11.01 (inclusive a photograph of the newly opened building) +11.03).⁶⁰ At its very beginning, the Kaesŏng Museum was understood as a local ‘Home-museum’, exhibiting local artefacts and recording traditional customs of the citizens’ ancestors. The museum content was a mixture of donated, bought, loaned and excavated exhibits.⁶¹

The first Kaesŏng museum director was a literature graduate from Kyoto Imperial University, Yi Yŏngsun 李英淳 (*Pakmulgwan Yŏn’gu* 1931, 4(10); *Maeil Sinbo* 1931.10.06). The visitor numbers and admission types of the initial year (1 November 1931-end December 1932) with 10,629 free admissions for students and Kaesŏng citizens and 4,371 paying ones (*Tonga Ilbo* 1933.01.18) may well reflect the local nature of the museum, with primarily free entries from school and local visitors, in its very beginnings. It is Ko Yusŏp (高裕燮 1905-1944), who would contribute most to the museum’s development. He became the Kaesŏng Museum director in March 1933, only three years after graduating in art history at Kyongsong Imperial University (Seoul National University). Ko stayed in charge until his death in June 1944. He made himself known for improving the museum’s foundation, as well as striving for the

⁶⁰ Ko Yusŏp and Chin Hongsŏp both write that the museum was founded one year earlier on 1 October 1930. On account of the inaccuracy with recent dates typical for the summarising narration style of their reports, the clearly dated journal and newspaper reports might be the more accurate choice to establish the dates of events of the day.

⁶¹ See also a comment by the then Kaesŏng Museum director Ko Yusŏp, that at its foundation it was a ‘Heimatmuseum’ only (Ko 1941.8. ‘Kaesŏng Pakmulgwan-ül malham’, *Ch’awŏn*)

research on Korean art history and so raising the museum's fame. Until today he is regarded highly in South Korea for his broad historical knowledge and written sources on Kaesŏng (For a more detailed account on the museum history and Ko Yusŏp's legacy see Chapter IV.IV.i).

Already then Ko Yusŏp aimed at visitors from outside and making it a 'Korean' national museum, where 'Koreanness' (here: *Chosŏn taum-kam*) could be felt. In the article 'Conversation about the Kaesŏng Museum' Ko recalls a discussion he had with a Pyongyang museum official⁶² about which of the Korean museums inherent the strongest sense of Koreanness. They seem to agree that

The Seoul Yi Royal Art Museum and the Chosŏn General Government Museum have a great amount of artefacts, but lack a comfortable homely feeling. The Kyŏngju Museum [exhibition] has an *excessively strong smell of Tang dynastic influence*. The Pujo Museum [founded 1939] is not completely installed yet, but if done, its exhibits will also follow too closely the Chinese six dynasties style [220-589 CE; literally 'Having a Six Dynasties smell' 六朝臭], rather than showing Koreanness.

The discussion continues with the Pyongyang museum, where

Visitors are unanimously surprised to learn about the exhibited objects and the period they stem from. Yet it is only the rareness of the objects that evokes interest rather than an *emotional identification* with the viewed (emphasis added).

Finally it is concluded that the Kaesŏng Museum collection is the one with the strongest sense of Koreanness (Ko 1941.8, in Ko 2007, 351), because its artefacts primarily dating from the Koryŏ period are distinctively Korean and less polluted by foreign influences.⁶³ Thus still in the end of the 1930s, the emotional discourse of what constitutes Koreanness (as described above in Chapter II.III.v), that is cultural objects free of foreign (traditional Chinese) influences, was thriving.

⁶² Ko did not mention the name of the official, but judging the period it must have been Akio Koizumi 小泉顯夫, head of the Pyongyang Museum of the time. By the KCNA Koizumi is quoted saying that the Japanese 'dug all tombs related to legends which said that gold bowls were entombed or a gold rooster crew inside a tomb on New Year's Day.' (KCNA 2000.05.09 'Savage Exhumation of Tombs by the Japanese')

⁶³ In a similar note did the Manchuria traveller Yi T'aejun (李泰俊 1904-?, for a brief vita see chapter V.III.i, n 319) comment his visit to the Pongch'ŏn (Fengtian) Museum in the *Manchu Travel Essay* (Manju khaeng 滿洲紀行 1940). Appreciating the vast amount of the continent's rare and precious cultural relics, he feels 'the continental people's vigour'. Yet, at the same time he notes the lack of emotion in the museum and its objects, an emotion so characteristic of 'Koryŏ and Yi Chosŏn sentiment or humor' (Ch'oe and Hŏ 2010, 152-3).

Furthermore, Ch'oe Söngyöng (2001, 151) writes that museum director Ko Yusöp managed to decline requests that were raised by the Kaesöng Provincial Committee at a meeting on 22 March 1939 to become a branch of the Chosön General Government Museum, arguing that the collections were of local significance and differently organized as the provincial branches to the Chosön General Government Museum, like Kyöngju, Pujo, and Kongju (*Tonga Ilbo* 1939.03.24).

Today it is the 'resistance' to and proclaimed independence of Japanese colonial policy that is a source of pride in South Korean scholarship. The museum was founded and administered by Koreans under the leadership of Korean directors, while during the Japanese occupation most employees at the Chosön General Government Museum in Seoul were Japanese. It is truly impressive that during his time as museum director, Ko Yusöp influenced three Kaesöng natives, that after liberation from Japan significantly shaped early South Korean art history in the highest academic and museum positions.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, all three were educated at Japanese universities, if in Seoul or in Japan, a not insignificant fact to receive academic positions in Kaesöng. Korea's most prominent archaeologists however, only became active after Liberation, but irrespective of their ideology, were shaped by their colonial education.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ For a more detailed account of the so-called Kaesöng trio of art historians, see chapter IV.IV.i, page 238.

⁶⁵ In the ROK Kim Wölyong (金元龍 1922- 1993), for example, graduated in history from Keijō Imperial University in 1945 after which he worked at the Seoul National Museum. Only after he received his doctorate from New York University in 1957 he started teaching and practicing archaeology.

III AUTHORIATRIAN INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Throughout history the authoritarian interpretation of cultural heritage has been guided by similar aims, the legitimisation of the ones in power. There are different methods employed to propagate this legitimisation claim, depending on the aimed recipient group. For instance, the succession of a ruler may be authorised through myths evolving around his often god-like ancestry, internal power consolidated through representations and education of exemplary achievements of the ruler, often compared to the misconduct of his opponents, or people's pride boosted by reference to the past as role model. All these interpretation methods are incentives for cultural action that serve the aimed (ideological) interpretation. Cultural action may take form in celebrated customs and rituals, evaluations and choice of particular heritage, designations, and the protection and restoration of designated cultural heritage. Finally, it is particularly the symbolical value of a cultural site, object, more so than its aesthetic value that is decisive for the choice and designation of a celebrated cultural practice, site or object.

Talking equally for individuals and members of groups, the identification and remembrance of one's glorious roots provides a strong sense of identity, justifying and legitimising one's very being and survival. Little wonder historiography and cultural policies have continuously been contested by outsider groups or criticised to be exploitive to those with less power and influence to express their version (cf. Chapter II.II).

In this chapter I aim to look at the role cultural heritage has played in some of the most challenging times of the Korean nation. What has been the relationship between political legitimisation and cultural values? I attempt to explore some of the cultural theories, nation identifications and cultural interpretations and policies that developed at times of enhanced nation-building (stabilising a rule in the wider sense) in the town Kaesŏng, from factional struggles and dynastic change, to strengthening and educating the nation to fight foreign domination, over demarcating interpretations and defamations of cultural atrocities after the Korean War, to the cooperation in reclaiming shared cultural goods beginning in the 1990s (cf. sections IV.I, IV.III), the interplay between culture and politics reveals similar, repetitive patterns.

III.I POLITICS OF CULTURAL ORIGINS

Until the Japanese colonial period, there had been no fixed laws or regulations in Korea concerned with its cultural relics (Chosŏn Ch'ongdokbu 1931a, 102). However, from the beginning of Koryŏ period there is documentation about individual royal decrees for the surveying, protection or repair of historic areas that predominately stand in relation to the remembrance of important deceased personalities. The state appropriation of history, historic sites and great personalities was a means of legitimate succession to a great dynastic and later national progenitor. Pronounced since the mid Koryŏ period, the ultimate ancestor, the progenitor of the Korean people or of the dynasty has been promoted to consolidate political stability and legitimisation through a feeling of group unity. There are well documented sources of attempts by the ruling class to either identify themselves and level with the exemplary civilised Chinese culture via the ancestor Kija of Chinese origin or to distinguish themselves against foreign (Mongol) powers with local culture via the well known (semi-) mythical founding father of the Korean culture and nation, Tan'gun (cf. II.III.ii). Thus one of the earliest, most consistent and recurrent cultural heritage themes is concerned with the historic origins and their succession and legitimacy, may it be of an ethnic and cultural nation, of a royal dynasty or in the private realm of a family.

III.I.1 PROGENITORS TO LEGITIMISE NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES

In Korea, the state sponsored historiography assumedly begun already in antiquity. In the middle Koryŏ, in king Hyŏnjong's reign (r.1009-1031), official royal annals, *sillok*, started to be compiled, also in retrospect for the first seven kings of the dynasty (Eckert et als. 1990, 103). Although none of these earliest documents have survived, other historical accounts have, and testify of their existence and usage by later historiographers.

The earliest extant historiography is the *Samguk Sagi* (History of Three Kingdoms) by Kim Pusik from 1145. Two slightly later historical accounts are the *Samguk Yusa*, memorabilia of the three kingdoms by the monk Ilyŏn (1206-1289) from 1281 and the *Chewang un'gi*, Songs of emperors and kings, by Yi Sŏnhyu (1224-1300) from 1287. The latter two accounts were both written after the devastating 30-year war with the Mongols and after the Koryŏ submission to the newly proclaimed Mongol Yuan dynasty. Strikingly is that both begin Korean history with Tan'gun, the 'mythical' founder of Early-Chosŏn in 3222 BCE and alleged progenitor of the Korean people.

In 1935, the later DPRK archaeologist To Yuho argues in his doctoral dissertation that in the past Korea was not an ethnic or national unity, but that the author Ilyŏn has built upon this Tan'gun myth to promote this unity of the people and nation as a people movement to counter the Mongol oppression (To 1935, 7-9).⁶⁶ In the same way the Tan'gun myth was revived by the Korean nationalists in the Japanese Colonial period. The Old-Chosŏn foundation legend of Kija, who according to the common Korean narrative was succeeding the Tan'gun dynasty, underwent immense opposition due to its foreign imposed narrative.⁶⁷ The semi-legendary figure, the Chinese noble and court minister Kija (1175?-1083 BCE), who is believed to have immigrated to Korea with a large group of followers at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046–256 BCE.) is said to have brought the civilised, Chinese, world to Korea founding the old-Chosŏn kingdom.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ To Yuho follows here the Japanese Koreanist Shiogo Oda (小田省吾 1871-1953) who argues that the blossoming of the documented Tan'gun myth was provoked by the Mongol rule and the occupation of the second Koryŏ period capital Pyongyang (1929, 91) in order to enhance an independent ethnocentric stance.

⁶⁷ This line of argumentation with the aim to oppose an imposed historiography is judged a 'denial without a flawless logic', so To Yuho (1935, 10) and, 'gets often not beyond a mere emotional debate'. For the concurrent critique on the emotional, often an emotional nationalism, see also Chapter II.III.

⁶⁸ The *Samguk yusa* and *Chaewang un'gi* retold the story, but calling Kija a king who succeeded the reign of the mythical Korean Tan'gun.

III.I.II HEIRS TO KIJŌ: ADMIRING AND FOLLOWING THE CHINESE MODEL

The site of Kija's burial mound near Pyongyang was identified during the Koryŏ period under King Sukjong, who constructed the first mausoleum in 1102 in order to pray for enlightening the country like Kija did before him (*Koryŏsa* 63.22b-23a). A memorial temple was later added and the mausoleum was enlarged and repaired in 1324 and again in 1355. Under King Sŏnjo (r.1567-1608) a shrine and stele were dedicated to Kija (Imanishi Ryū 1937, 162-64). In 1570 a *hamabi* monument was erected instructing people to dismount from horses out of respect for the site.

Adding to the evidence of outspoken admiration for and influence from the Chinese is the eleventh century alleged copy of king Wang Kŏn's political testament, *hunyo shipcho*, (Breuker 2006, 311). There he declared that 'we in the East [Korea] have long admired T'ang [Chinese] ways. In culture, ritual, and music we are entirely following its model' (Deuchler 1992, 29). During the Chosŏn period, people explained prehistoric remains by relating them directly to ideologies adopted from China. For example, stone tools were called with the Chinese name 'thunder axes' and linked to the principle of Yin/ Yang and the Five Primary Substances (metal, fire, wood, water and earth) (Yi 2001, 185) that were overshadowing other folk narratives by labelling them irrational and subjective. Latest, with the beginning of Neo-Confucianism in the end of the Koryŏ period, Koreans expressed a natural claim to the heritage of China through Kija, particularly its history and culture.⁶⁹

Since the end of the nineteenth century Korean scholars slowly began to doubt the authenticity of Kija-related sources to explain the Korean origins of civilisation. With the decline of China and the rise of Korean nationalism under Japanese colonial rule, they lost pride in their connection to Kija and started questioning the historic authenticity of Kija's rule over Chosŏn (Shim 2002, 278). The favour changed to the indigenous Korean ancestor and legendary demigod Tan'gun (born to the union of a sky deity and bear-woman 2333 BCE). The Korean desire for independence from Japanese colonialism also conflicted with the tradition that its country and people was the progeny of the Chinese Kija, a foreigner. It fitted too well into the argumentation of the Japanese coloniser and their propagated stagnation theory (*teitairon*), which attempts to explain the alleged backwardness of Korean culture and incapacity of

⁶⁹ A number of books on Kija were published including the *Kijaji* 箕子志 of 1580, a collection of available historical materials on him, and the *Kija Silgi* 箕子實記. Around the same time, many Korean clans started to associate their origins with Kija and until the late Chosŏn period continued to link their family genealogy to Kija.

political sovereignty.⁷⁰ In 1905, after Japan forced Korea to sign the Ŭlsa Treaty, the *Hwangŏng Sinmun* newspaper chief editor published on 20 November the famous article ‘We wail today’. He refers to both creators of Korean civilization writing:

Should we let the national spirit that has preserved for four thousand years since the days of Tan’gun and Kija disintegrate overnight? (cited in P. Lee 1996, 422-23)⁷¹

The Japanese colonial rule emphasised the legend of Kija against the founding myth of Tan’gun. By pointing out that the first Korean kingdom was founded by a foreigner, it helped justify their rule over Korea. Alongside this colonial theory of the colonized late and foreign dominated origin, Kija’s tomb too, was heavily promoted as a tourist venue by the Japanese to erode Korean identity (Ch’oe Sŏkyŏng 2002) (Figure 21).

Like the Korean nationalists then, the governments of both Korean states now deny Kija's role as a nation founder, officially dismissing it as a fabrication of the Japanese colonialists.



Figure 21: The tomb of Kija on Moransan Hill in Pyongyang

⁷⁰ The Japanese historian Itō Zōhei (1931, 59) wrote that *the relationship between China and Korea has been very close since ancient times. According to historical traditions the relationship started with Kija who was a relative of the last Yin dynastic king and who became the king of the Old-Chosŏn Korea. Afterwards the Yan Chinese Wiman defeated the Old-Chosŏn and proclaimed himself as new Korean king. The people of the Old-Chosŏn, the prodigy of Kija founded the Silla kingdom...* Although still in 1935 To Yuho (1935, 57) conceded that Korean culture was in big part Chinese, he is quick to add that by no means it lacks its singularity.

⁷¹ In a similar vein, when the national spirit of Tan’gun was disturbed with the Korean War and divided along a borderline, the 38th parallel, it was not considered to be coincidental, but was numerically linked to Tan’gun. Counted from the birth of Tan’gun, the ‘Korean nation progenitor’, in BCE 2333, the year 1950 would be Tan’gun’s reign year 4283. Read (by Koreans) in reverse, the number 3824 means ‘move to 38’ (*samp’al i-sa*). (Rhee Sang-eun 2010. <http://songmi3.hihome.com/kaeseong/sonjukkyo/sonjuk.htm>)

The neglected and defaced tomb was allegedly excavated in the 1960s, which in turn yielded nothing but broken bricks and pottery. The current state of the tomb is unknown, though the site, previously a registered national treasure under the Japanese Colonial government, is excluded from the North Korean National Treasures list and is believed to have been destroyed shortly after its excavation.

As the Great Leader said, the story of Kija, which was handed down by the feudal flunkeys, is a total lie and harmful to our revolution. In the old days some men who were infected with a servile attitude spread servility among people by inventing the preposterous lie that a foreigner, Kija by name, [...] founded a kingdom and developed science and culture.' And after the archaeological excavation of Kija's tomb on Moran Hill, 'nothing was found but a few broken pieces of brick and china. The story of Kija was found to be a fabrication that spread the idea of meniality and submission.

(Kim Jong Il 1970)

Japanese historical scholarship was, and still is,⁷² not uncontroversial in Korea. Particular the Japanese governed choice and interpretation of Korean culture provoked strong reactions at its time. In 1927, the first volume of *Lelang Period Relics* (樂浪郡時代の遺蹟) was published and used as archaeological evidence of the existence of Lelang culture, notably as part of Chinese culture, in the Pyongyang area (Cho Pöpchong 2006). This ancient culture was claimed by the Japanese scholars to be the oldest existent on the Korean peninsula.

Responding to Japanese historiography of Korea's nonexistent prehistory that excludes Tan'gun sites from the historic sites register, a newspaper article attacks Japanese attitude to Tan'gun history as narrow minded. According to the Japanese the date of origin of the Korean nation was 660 BCE, around 1,700 years younger than the Korean back dating to 2333 BCE (Academy of Social Science 1993(4):5).⁷³ The author insists that

Tan'gun is history and not a mythical production and therefore different to other countries' founders or religions. Chosŏn might be in ashes, but the Tan'gun spirit in Korean minds cannot be crushed. Just recently the Japanese destroyed the Tan'gun cave in Mt Myohyangsan [where Tan'gun is said to be born] under the pretext that it was used as a hiding place for mops and rebels. Further the Samsongjŏng hall [Shrine to the three holy ancestor spirits of Tan'gun, his father Hanung and grandfather Hanin] in Mt Kuwolsan was destroyed because the Japanese regarded it as origin of the 'new religion', *sinsinang* 新信仰.⁷⁴ When they repainted the annex building of the Pu'pyŏkru in Pyongyang, the Sungryong spirit hall [for Tan'gun and the founder king Tongmyŏng of Koguryŏ] was destroyed (*Tonga Ilbo* 1926.12.03).

The Japanese oppression of the Tan'gun history provoked an even stronger reaction to cement the Korean national origins with Tan'gun, and found a channel through the *Movement for the preservation of relics* (*yujŏk pojon undong* 遺跡保存運動). A tangible example was the planning of the restoration of Tan'gun's tomb. The organisation started in 1921, and finally in

⁷² See for instance the very critical article about the Japanese 'surveys' of Korean cultural properties by Ri Hunhyŏk 2009. The criminal aim of the executed Korean cultural property 'research' schemes by the Japanese colonialists, (Ilje-ka kamhaenghan Chosŏnmunhwajae 'chosa' ch'aekdong-ŭi pŏmjoijŏkmokjŏk' 일제가 감행한 조선문화재 '조사' 책동의 범죄적목적), *Minjok Munhwa Yusan*, 2009(2): 53-54.

⁷³ In 1938 the Governor General published the *chosŏn'sa*, Korean history. The Korean date 2333 BCE associated with Tan'gun's founding of the Korean state was first recorded in the *Tongguk Tonggam* (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom) from 1485.

⁷⁴ The 'new religion' addressed to might well be the 'nation-centred new religion Taejonggyo, the 'Teaching of the Great Progenitor', founded in 1909 with the overt aim of strengthening Korean national consciousness at a moment when Japan was in the process of annexing Korea' (Walraven 2010, 27).

1932, resulted in the formation of the *Tan'gun tomb restoration support group* 檀君陵修築期成會 by Pyongyang scholars. In 1936 they repaired the tomb with their private funds and added new tomb guardian figures and a restoration memorial stone (ASS 1993(4):4).⁷⁵

Publications of the Chosŏn Government General were therefore quick to emphasize their positive output and sincerity about their various archaeological and conservational activities, particularly publishing the costs of their endeavours. For instance, Kaesŏng's City Gate Namdaemun was repaired for the amount of 3,853 Won, in 1926 repairs and fencing at Kaesŏng Namsan-li tombs amounted to 2,941 Won (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1931b, 92), and a huge repair of thirteen Koryŏ royal tombs was announced to start with a budget of 4,000 Won from the Department of Education under the Chosŏn Government General (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1937.10.15).

⁷⁵ For a detailed study on the Tan'gun tomb restoration movement against the Japanese Government General's policy and the Tan'gun tomb restoration group, see Kim Sŏnghwan 2009. *Ilje kangjŏmgi Tan'gunlŭngsuch'uk undong* (Tan'gun tomb restoration movement during the Japanese Colonial Period), Seoul: Kyŏngin Munhwasa.

The attempt to eliminate the colonial cultural legacy was one major reason in the DPRK, between Korean Independence in 1945 up to the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, to enact its national imprint on the cultural heritage protection law. The state protective treatment of cultural properties aimed to revoke the Japanese claim on Korean culture and their cultural policy of 1933 by applying the status quo for North Korean cultural material (NRICH 1985). Cultural heritage was considered a useful discipline to denounce colonial interpretations that emphasised the racial and cultural inferiority of the Korean people. As in many other postcolonial states, the interpretative re-evaluation of cultural heritage through practices like archaeology, preservation and historiography has taken a central role in refashioning national identity and restoring national pride after liberation. Likewise in the DPRK the new ‘Treasure, Historical Remains, Scenic spots and Natural Monument Preservation Law’ (*Pomul, Kojŏk, Myŏngsŭng, Ch’ŏnyŏn Ki’nyŏmmul Pohoryŏng*) was re-enacted on 29 April 1946 under the lead of Kim Il Sung and the secretary-general Kang Yanguk⁷⁶ (Editorial 1963(3): 1 *Kogo Minsok*). Not only the title is nearly identical to the Japanese Colonial Preservation Law of 1933, but like it, the new one also promoted the foundation of ‘Historical Remain Safeguarding committees’ (*kojŏk pojon uiwŏnhoe*) and provincial History Museum in the major cities.⁷⁷ Although it is based on the laws introduced under Japanese colonial rule in 1916 and 1933 (Pai 1994), it was to help and identify the new nation-state within a set historical interpretation. It is followed up by speeches given by Kim Il Sung that are indicative of the law’s function. So did he call for ‘culture professionals to become fighters on the cultural front’ on the first parliamentary session 24 May 1946 and on 26 September the same year, ‘It is the current step and duty of cultural (scholars) to build democracy’ and ‘We have to pass on our national cultural heritage and complete the culture of the socialist state’. Many citations and written statements of the time follow the same tonus. Concurrently common people, farmers and students were encouraged to contribute to the advancement of the country’s cultural pride by pointing out relics for scientific study (To Yuho 1958).

⁷⁶ Kang Yanguk (康良煜 1904-1983) was one of the deputy prime ministers of North Korea and a secretary of the Great People's Assembly. As maternal uncle and teacher of Kim Il Sung, Kang became one of his close advisers. In 1946 he became the Chairman of the *Christian League*, in close contact with the Communist Party. In 1949 all Protestant Ministers were forced to join Kang's *Christian Federation*. In 1946 activists killed the son of Kang Yanguk and his future wife on their wedding day. After this killing the Communist started a campaign to ‘eliminate the reactionary forces.’

⁷⁷ In February 1948 the local Safeguarding Committees were centralised under the control of the ‘Central Historical Remain Safeguarding committee’ 고적보존중앙위원회.

Shortly after on 14 June 1947 Kim Il Sung announced in his speech ‘In order to build the Democratic Provisional Government of Korea all associated parties and social groups will be required’ that ‘the primary task of the DPRK cultural construction is people's education and in the field of literary and arts to eliminate the roots of Japanese colonial legacy and quickly develop national culture’.

Surely, in addition to the explicit post-colonial reaction, new cultural interpretations also aimed at legitimising the state in the ‘succession of national cultural heritage development’ vice versa the southern Korean part (see section II.I). In this period also fall the first excavations in the capital area of Pyongyang in 1947 and 1950, and the Koguryō tombs at Anak in 1949. Since its instalment on 1 November 1948 the *Chosŏn Material Culture Preservation Committee* (*Chosŏn Muljil Munhwa Pojon Wiwŏnhoe*) was responsible for these excavations and the organisation of ancient remains,⁷⁸ the practical regulations to which were declared at the 110th cabinet decision (*nae'gak kyŏljŏng*) in August 1949 ‘Principles of Preservation concerning old Material Culture’ (Academy of Science 1963, 1).⁷⁹ New archaeological materials and revised interpretations of popular heritage sites could provide ‘objective material evidence’ for the effective deconstruction of colonialist claims (of a nonexistent Korean pre-history) and its role was stressed important for nation building.

Another Korean nationalistic development in cultural heritage interpretations was the succession of national heritage as celebrated in the slowly increasing idolization of Kim Il Sung and an emphasis on the revolutionary traditions observed in cultural properties of olden and recent history (Kim Il Sung 1970.02.17).

The first North Korean archaeological journal *Munhwa Yumul* (*Cultural Relics*) was initiated in 1949 but discontinued already after the first two volumes the following year because of the Korean War (Im 1991, 12). The main focus of research and excavations was prehistory. The new objective and scientific research was to prove the Japanese colonial historiography wrong that denied or shortened the distant Korean past. Often the fact that a cultural heritage site was

⁷⁸ The proclamation of the 58th cabinet decision on 1 November 1948 under its leader Kim Il Sung and the cultural minister Hŏ Chŏngsuk was titled : ‘조선물질문화유물조사보존위원회에 관한 결정서’ (Decision report about the Korean Material Cultural Relics Committee).

Kim Hyosik 2001, <http://www.nkculture.ac.kr/Body/BBS.asp?TB=free&Mode=V&Num=1865&Page=1>

⁷⁹ Like others, this regulation ‘Principles of Preservation concerning old Material Culture’ (물질문화유물보존에 관한 규정), too, was little later followed by a personal instruction by Kim Il Sung (1949.10.15), ‘National cultural heritage needs to be well preserved’ (민족문화유산을 잘보존하여야).

destroyed or falsely researched by the enemy, ideologically and emotionally enhanced the incentive for repeated research or correcting restorations.

The study of Prehistory

Already during the Korean War, the Academy of Science (AS, now Academy of Social Science ASS) in Pyongyang was founded in 1952 that also included a Material Culture Research Institute, later to be called Institute of Archaeology (NRICH 1985). Also restoration and preservation issues of cultural properties were reformed. Addressing the cultural heritage damaged during the Korean War, the 23rd Cabinet order (*nae'gakjisi*) called for 'The need to enforce preservation work of cultural remains and natural memorials' and again in 1954 through the 92nd Cabinet order 'About the scientific treatment of excavated remains in all construction processes' (Academy of Science 1963, 2). A policy that aimed to promote this reflection on the people's revolutionary traditions and patriotism was the designation of local 'home' leisure resorts with cultural significance. Ultimately, the emphasis chosen in the scientific research in cultural properties was to propagate and educate communist ideology in conjunction with appeal of patriotism to the broad masses. In a speech Kim Il Sung stressed the importance of 'collective research' (Kim Il Sung 1955.04.01 'About the need of projects to strengthen interdisciplinary education'). The first excavation after the Korean War was the one of the 'primitive culture' of Rajin, a town in the very north-east. The report published in 1955 was a first in a series of primitive culture excavation reports published by the Archaeology and Folk Research Institute under the Academy of Science.

Excavation lists and historical studies throughout the 1950-70s show a continuously heightened interest in the research of Korean prehistory, especially the confirmation of the existence of the early Korean Palaeolithic. The research was to promote that Korean culture originated and evolved in the northern part of the Korean peninsula without any major foreign cultural influences (Im 1991, 24).

Particular the year 1957 saw many changes in DPRK cultural policy. The Korean Cultural Protection Institute (*Chosŏn Munhwa Pojŏnso*) was inaugurated on 26 August,⁸⁰ and the Material Culture Research Institute (*Muljil Munhwasa Yŏn'guso*) was restructured into the department of archaeology and ethnology (Pak Hyŏnsun 2003, 189). Understanding the capacity of history and culture as nation-building tools, Kim Il Sung criticized the lack of books on the *precious* cultural heritage and history of the national liberation struggle. Publication was considered an important tool to disseminate the research and brought about a few professional journals published through the Academy of Science, the bimonthly journal *Munhwa Yusan* (*Cultural Heritage*) that lasted until 1962, *Yujŏk Palgulgogo* (*Excavation report of old remains*), and the series *Kogohak Charyojip* (*Collection of archaeological data*) that was initiated in 1958.

Creative renewal of methodologies

Interestingly, many articles of the early years of publication from 1957 until the early 1960s reflect the Research Institute's orientation period. They describe the more general tasks and duties of the work, concerned with issues of preservation and excavation methodology (Kim Youngkan 1958; Kim Il Sung 1958.04.30),⁸¹ work practice rules, but also the political and professional debt to and comparison to other socialist brother-states. The editorial of the newly published heritage journal *Munhwa Yusan*, for instance, paraphrases that the political developments in the Soviet Union raised people's hope worldwide to free themselves of oppressive regimes.

After Korean Liberation it is now the task of the Koreans to liberate themselves of the Japanese sponsored archaeology. With assistance and learning from the experience of the Soviet Union, Korean archaeology advances in the research of pre-history. If there

⁸⁰ Hŏ T'aesŏn 2007. 'The proud way the Korean Culture Protection Institute has walked under the guidance of the peerless heroes' (절세위인들의 손길아래 자랑찬 길을 걸어온 조선문화보존사), *Minjok MunhwaYusan* 2007(4): 14-15.

⁸¹ Chŏng Paekun 정백운 1957. Basic knowledge about excavating relics (유적 조사를 위한 기초 지식), *Munhwa Yusan*, 4: 51-60, idem. 1958. 'The development of our country's archaeology after the Korean War' (해방후 우리나라 고고학의 발전), *Munhwa Yusan*, 4: 7-16.

Academy of Science 과학원, ed. 1960. 'The way Korean Archaeology has taken since the Korean War' (해방후 조선고고학이 걸어온 길), *Munhwa Yusan*, 4: 1-15.

ASS 1988. General guide about the preservation of historical relics and remains (역사 유적과 유물보존에 대한 강령적 지침). *Chosŏn kogo yŏn'gu*, 2.

would not have been the October Revolution, after Liberation there could not have been such rapid development in Korean archaeology, as the Soviet methodological and ideological influence were implemental for all sectors of cultural research (Academy of Science 1957a, 1).

Future tasks and plans were discussed on the first Central Archaeology Forum in 1958, especially the need to break through lingering Japanese government-patronised historiography and how best to apply the methodology of Marxism-Leninism (*Munhwa Yusan*, 1958(3): 84-86). All the new ethnological surveys and excavations were ordered to follow the Marxist-Leninist methodology to use different development stages for periodisation. There were many discoveries of new cultures, whose names are indicative of this methodology, for instance the New Stone Age with divisions into 'Pickle-and hoe agriculture' and 'plough-agriculture' (Editorial 1963(3): 2 *Kogo Minsok*).

The pre-historian To Yuho, head of the Archaeology and Ethnology Research Institute and publisher of the first post-war archaeological journal in DPRK starting in 1957, outlined in his leading article all the major topics, concerns and future tasks of Korean archaeological and ethnographic scholarship. Embedded in the anti-colonialist and nationalist self-reliant sentiments of the day, he addresses a strongly felt need of independence from the many Japanese government patronised influences of research in North Korean Archaeology and Ethnology Research Institute. So was the focus on Korean prehistory, particular in comparison to the world study of prehistory (To Yuho⁸² 1957, 3-4) of special concern for archaeological

⁸² To Yuho alias Do Cyong-ho (1905-1982), was born into a wealthy family in Hamhung (today the second largest city of the DPRK), South Hamgyong Province. In 1929 he visited the Literature Faculty of the Yenching University in Peking 燕京大學文學院 for one year. Then he left for Europe. In 1931 he started studying social sciences at Frankfurt University until he moved to Wien in 1933, where he engaged in archaeological studies at the historical faculty. After his PhD with the title *Probleme der Koreanischen Geschichte im kulturellen Zusammenhang* (Problems of Korean history in a cultural context) examined by the economic historians Alfons Dopsch (1868-1953) and Wilhelm Bauer (1877-1953) in 1935, he stayed in the Prehistory Research Centre of the University in Wien to conduct research on archaeology and ethnography. During his longer stay abroad he wrote several articles in Korean journals about Austrian research of the time and his experience in Frankfurt that give a rich picture not only of his life as a foreign student, but also of his reflections on the socialist and nationalist trends of the time. After Korean Liberation he briefly taught in his home town Hamhung and then went south to Seoul in 1946 where he joined the Communist Party. His activities led him to be under American arrest and he then went back north in 1947, where he became a professor and head of the Archaeology Research Centre at Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang (Pak Hyönsun 2003, 36-39, 91, 100/101, 189-190; Yi Sönbok

study as it was considered neglected or falsified under the Japanese rule and the Korean origin had again to be consolidated far back in time.

At this early stage of establishing the Archaeological Research Institute, there is still a strong link and leaning to the ideological ‘brothers’ in China and the Soviet Union. To Yuho calls for a brotherly connection between scholars of the region, (North) Korean, Chinese and Soviets comparable to that of the ‘brotherly sphere’ of the people, to learn from their rich experience and to help ‘our’ democratic state now isolated from ‘our’ capitalist state (To 1957, 5).⁸³

The applied methodology in the research of archaeology and folk history is, of course, Marxism-Leninism including dialectic and historical materialism. But frankly speaking, in the scientific fields a concrete methodology has not been determined yet, so far only being an abstract expression. In the past the evolutionary theory was predominant, but nowadays most scholars consider the theory of Marxism-Leninism. All other opposing methodologies are stigmatised as reactionary and are unquestioningly rejected. One of the highly branded methodologies is based on the so-called *Kulturkreis*theorie (theory of the cultural sphere *munhwa kwōnsōl*)⁸⁴, its supporters insisting on the methodology of cultural comparison. The non-sense of this theory has finally been realised. Likewise the evolution methodology (of the formalist linguist school) has reached a dead end and only the so-called historicism remains. Yet, the content of historicism is a method with scant concrete results that is just a weak and forced self-styled Marxist methodology. (To Yuho 1957, 6)⁸⁵

1992, Yi Kwanglin 1990, and Han Ch’anggyun 1992, chapter 5). In 1961 he published the most influential archaeological work of the period, *Chosōn wōnsi kogohak* (조선 원시 고고학 Prehistoric Archaeology in Korea).

⁸³ Another indication for a certain level of internationalism are the translated content lists in the scholarly journals and excavation reports until around 1960 into Russian, Chinese and German, the latter swapped to English in 1959.

⁸⁴ After his return to Korea in 1939, To co-translated in Tokyo 1942 Oswald Menghin’s 1931 *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (World history of the Stone Age) into Japanese 石器時代の世界史, an author and a work emblematic for the *Kulturkreis*theorie. Perhaps at a time he was under the influence of his long experience in Wien, when the Viennese culture-historical school of ethnography promoted the development of culture-historical archaeology (Kohl and Gollán 2002, 562) with a very distinct (and abused by the national-socialist for territorial extension and race discrimination) hyper-diffusion theory with three race distinction (attribution to different prehistoric tools). Surely this translation was of interest for the Japanese colonialists, but for the colonised Korean with socialist if not communist leanings a rather awkward choice as the underlying research theory lays ground for a cultural legitimisation of Japanese colonialisation. The other contemporary prominent European archaeologist and pre-historian V. Gordon Childe, an early proponent of Marxist archaeology, would have appeared to be a more debt choice of study for To. However, Korean intellectuals during the colonial period readily applied Japanese methodologies appropriating it for their very own interpretations, see also Chapter II.III.iii.

⁸⁵ Interestingly the criticised shortcoming in practical applications continued to be a problem. ‘What is called historical materialism is, despite its respectable age, still more programme than indication of something existent. On its way from Marx and Engels via Lenin and Stalin and their successors, the historical materialism underwent a decisive change from a critical theory of history to an integral part of a worldview. That way the necessary

Thus, having witnessed the changing theories and research trends in the west and communist brother countries [following the events in the Soviet Union with the controversy over the theory of Nikolay Yakovlevich Marr⁸⁶ and its legacy] in 1950 and his personal witness of a heated scholarly debate on a conference in Leningrad in 1956 between accepted and reactionary methodologies,⁸⁷ he calls for an end of dogmatism of research methodologies.

In order to establish a right basis we have to start a free debate and refrain of charging the reactionary methodologies of the opposition (To 1957, 6).

This call to free research of socialist dogmatism might appear rather surprising. However, it is just another sign for first attempts to keep the right balance between the international socialist thought and a distinct Korean way following the subsequently famous speech of Kim Il Sung about *Chuch'e* or self-reliance in December 1955 entitled 'On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing *Chuch'e* in Ideological Work'.⁸⁸ Here, Kim Il Sung warned that

If we ignore the history of our country and the traditions of our people, and take no account of our realities and the level of preparedness of our people, and copy from foreign experience mechanically, it will lead us to commit dogmatic errors and will do much harm to the revolutionary cause (Kim Il Sung 1964).

self-reflexion for all sciences had been silenced.' (Dieter Groh in: Hans Wehler (ed.): *Deutsche Historiker*, Göttingen 1973, 401).

⁸⁶ Nikolay Yakovlevich Marr (1865-1934) was a linguist and historian. In 1924, Marr proclaimed that all the languages of the world descend from a single proto-language. To draw support for his speculative doctrine, Marr elaborated a Marxist footing for it. He hypothesized that modern languages tend to fuse into a single language of communist society arguing that these different strata of language corresponded to different social classes. He even claimed that the same social classes in widely different countries spoke versions of their own languages that were linguistically closer to one another than to the speech of other classes who supposedly spoke 'the same' language. This theory was a base of the mass campaign in 1920-30s in the Soviet Union of introduction of Latin alphabets for smaller ethnicities of the country. Only after Marr's death, Stalin published a diatribe against him entitled *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics* (1950). The author wrote that 'N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics incorrect and non-Marxist formula, regarding the 'class character' of language, and got himself into a muddle and put linguistics into a muddle. Soviet linguistics cannot be advanced on the basis of an incorrect formula which is contrary to the whole course of the history of peoples and languages.'

⁸⁷ In May 1956 To Yuho went to Leningrad to attend a conference on Soviet Ethnology where he witnessed the heated debate of anthropologists. 'Although everyone's work was based on Marxism-Leninism, the dialectic method differed between the stigmatising realism of Marxism-Leninism and cultural comparison'.

⁸⁸ The communist nationalism was very similar to the conservative nationalists with an ideology of the uniqueness of the Korean race and struggle for independence. The ultra-nationalist An Hosang (who studied at Jena University in the 1920s) frequently used the *Chuch'e* term to refer to the Korean essence, a subjective appreciation of what it meant to be a Korean (Cumings 1990, 211).

Originally referring to ideological independence to overthrow the remnants of Japanese Colonialisation, especially with regard to the Soviet Union, it marks the beginning of an increase of the nationalistic trend that emphasised national heroism and unique cultural traditions against the traditional internationalist Marxist dictum that ‘Die Arbeiter haben kein Vaterland’ (the workers have no fatherland) (Petrov 2006, 14). This Korean way is also called for in 1963 when the author insists on the significance for future study to establish independent ways, following Marxism-Leninism, but to creatively apply it to the Korean situation (Academy of Science 1963, 6). In 1965 Kim Chaehong writes less creatively, but closer to Kim’s original wording about independent culture (*chuch’echŏk munhwa*) that that ‘if there is no independent basis of new culture inherited and developed from one’s innate cultural heritage, one mechanically accepts the foreigner’s self-named advanced culture. Further deflated by people’s toadyism and dogmatism, it can deprive our culture’.

Ethnological research was a useful tool in this development to project socialist ideology as an inherent national characteristic of the Korean people. So did for instance farmer customs serve ‘as examples of solidarity in the building of Socialism’ (To 1957, 7). The collective representation of the Korean culture was superficially still obliged to the international thought of socialism with reference to its brothers, particularly the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China,⁸⁹ in support of communist ideology and theory. At the same time it distanced itself from communist theories with a romantic search for the ‘cultural roots’ and ‘distinct culture’ of the ethnic nation and the representation of the Korean collective, a trend that can also be observed in the other communist states of the time (See e.g. Shnirelman 2003).

⁸⁹ A cultural agreement between the DPRK and China was signed on 21 February 1959, for an ‘Implemental Plan for the Cultural Exchanges between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’. In accordance with the plan, the two countries annually sent as many as dozens of delegations or art groups of different kinds to each other’s side.

Pristine folk traditions

Archaeological practice and research has been strongly connected to Korean folklore and everyday culture in North Korea (Academy of Science 1958). A consolidation of this trend can also be observed through the introduction of the quarterly journal *Kogo Minsok* (Archaeology-Ethnology) that replaced the *Munhwa Yusan* and was jointly published by the Archaeology and Ethnology Research Institutes from 1963 onwards. Ethnography (*minsokhak*) and everyday customs (*saenghwal p'ungsok*) had been little studied in South Korea, whereas in North Korea it had been stressed from the very beginning as one of the categories of historical science (Hwang Ch'ölsan 1962; Academy of Science 1963; Pak Hyönsun 2003, 185).⁹⁰ Many issues of the journal *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* (*National Cultural Heritage*) also promote folk art and traditions like traditional games, landscapes, and food, through introduction boxes and songs that are featured in the journal. It strikes as historical fate that the early Japanese colonialists' methodology of linking ethnological and archaeological research has been adopted for the same aim, in that ethnology could provide the answer to the central question in Japanese archaeology which was to distinguish 'what kind of life-styles, physical characteristics, knowledge, arts and crafts, can be correlated to the remains that our ancestors have left behind'. (Tsuboi 1889:19 as cited in Pai 2002). Thus, archaeology was 'the study of past relics' in order to define 'who the ancient peoples were' (Tusboi 1897: 44-45), and so ultimately to legitimise ideological claims of today's people.

Still in the 1960s cultural policies in the DPRK were primarily concerned with the establishment of a culture organization. Cultural restorations and maintenance were conducted on a large scale. From 1963 onwards committees of cultural and scientific professionals were under the control of the provinces and in 1964 cultural relics preservation offices were installed in each city with the aim to preserve and research the local cultural properties. Two months after Kim Jong Il started to work at the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on 19 June 1964, he published a statement concerning conservation tasks and plans of historical and cultural remains. There he argues that

⁹⁰ Already in the early Chosön dynasty the authoritarian rulers subjected the people to state control through folk customs. Deuchler writes that '*p'ungsok* represented the basic moral energy of the state. The quality of the customs practiced was an unmistakable indicator of the state's health and directly related to its rise and fall.' (Deuchler 1992, 110)

Although through the 5000 year long history there have been many historic remains, many of them have been destroyed and looted by foreign aggressors, particular by the American bombings in the [Korean] War. It is therefore of foremost importance to safeguard the little remaining historic relics and to preserve them as guiding examples for future generations. Because a nation that does not know about its history and culture cannot love its fatherland and not be patriotic (Kim Jong Il 1964.09.16, in Kim Jong Il 2006, 49-50).

Prehistoric origins

The contemporary emphasis in both Koreas on the Tan'gun creation myth reveals the proud awareness of cultural distinctiveness and political national sentiments diminishing the idea of external influence on Korean state formation.⁹¹ Although contemporary research still tends to counter Japanese historiography as before in the 1940s-1950s, it is now more focused on strengthening national pride, the long standing and homogenous development of the Korean people and its national characteristics outside major foreign influences, especially in North Korea. Interestingly, still in 1935 the later North Korean first generation historian and archaeologist To Yuho would write in the chapter *About the origin of the Korean nation* of his doctoral dissertation that

Like every nation, the contemporary Korean nation is by no means a unity by blood or culture existent since primitive times. The shaping of the contemporary Korean nation only started in the tenth century with the beginning of the Koryŏ dynasty (To Yuho 1935, 19).

Well aware of the contrary trend to establish a long standing homogenous Korean nation that finds its origins in the ancient past, he adds that many historians might oppose his claim, but that based on the current state of (scientific) historical knowledge he cannot move further back in time (To 1935, 19). Among progressive historians, the viewpoint that nations were constructed entities, a stage in the process of historical development were rather common, especially for a student like To studying economical history in Wien. Twenty years on, such a statement would not be found anymore in his writings. For one, scholarship underwent quite some censorship in the DPRK bringing along interpretation shifts, and secondly, the state of historical knowledge had been furthered by new research and finds.

It might be blank, but the quick read of the article on the 50th anniversary of the archaeological unit sheds some light on the overt relationship between archaeological policy, practice and the legitimisation of the state against previous colonial defaming claims and to secure the right to succeed the rule.

⁹¹ Jaehoon Shim (2002) notes that in South Korea, the high school history textbooks only marginally mentioned Kija in a note and of the latest 7th Curriculum he was completely eliminated.

[...] From a million years ago [...] the Japanese aggressors tried to obliterate the Korean nation. [...] to distort the history of Korea to the following effect: the land of Korea was uninhabited in the Palaeolithic age; only in the late Neolithic age did it begin to be inhabited by people who had gathered from here and there; and without going through the Bronze Age the Koreans, under the influence of a neighbouring country, went through the age in which both metal and stone implements were used. Arguing against the distortion, the Korean excavation party set it as its important task to unearth vestiges and relics capable of testifying to the time-honouredness of the nation. At the outset, it travelled all over the country in order to find the vestiges of the Palaeolithic age. [...] Some vestiges and relics were found, but they were from ancient times or the Middle Ages. [...] At last their efforts bore fruit: [...]. The unearthed proved to be those from 100 000 years ago. Not content with this the excavators continued their work on a nation-wide scale. [...Further finds in the 1960-70s...] made it possible to prove that the Koreans went through not only the gradation of pithecanthropus but also those of both Palaeolithic and Neolithic humans. *Consequently they proved that the Koreans lived on that land a million years ago as well and that the nation is a homogeneous one whose ancestors were not those who had gathered from here and there but those who had been born on the land from time immemorial and developed through the stages of human evolution and development in turn, that is, the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages. In a word they elucidated the origin of the nation.* [...]

In 1993 the remains of Tan'gun, father of the Korean nation, were unearthed in the area of Kangdong, Pyongyang. This required the excavation party to re-examine and establish anew the history of Ancient Korea. *Where on earth was the centre of Ancient Korea?* This was the point. The excavation party was engrossed in comprehensive excavation with emphasis on Pyongyang and its vicinity for four years for the purpose of ascertaining the historical evidence that Tan'gun founded Korea with Pyongyang as its capital, the fact recorded in the *Samgukyusa*.

Over the years [... many more finds were made and relics identified...]. Archaeologists and the excavation party used these achievements to prove that Tan'gun had founded Ancient Korea with Pyongyang as its capital. In 1998 they proclaimed that the Taedong River basin with Pyongyang at the centre, where mankind had evolved and ceaselessly developed because of the good local natural and geographical conditions with beautiful mountains and rivers, was the cradle of the national culture and 5 000 years ago began to be regarded as the centre of politics, the economy and culture and that so in the earliest days there had existed the Taedonggang culture along with the Hwanghe culture, the Indus culture, the Nile culture and the Mesopotamian culture, all known as ancient civilizations. The archaeological unit is [...], thus helping establish and enrich the history of the nation systematically. [...] It is still striving to further enrich the nation's treasure house. (An Song Duk, 2008)

This tendency to search for the remote past and corroborate it through material evidence is also reflected in the research and preservation of Kaesŏng's cultural heritage. In the *Historical and geographical overview of the Kaesŏng area* published in the catalogue of the joint Korean excavation in the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone, the distinguished North Korean archaeologist Ri

Ch'angŏn (2005, 41), for instance, prominently lists among the usually known heritage sites also the ruined sites of ancestor shrines for Tan'gun (*tan'gunsat'ŏ*),⁹² and the mother of the Koguryŏ founder king Tongmyŏng, the so-called *Ryuhwasatangt'ŏ*. The Tan'gun shrine, he writes, was built in the Old-Chosŏn period (founded by Tan'gun in 3222 BCE) for ancestral ceremonies. These ancient ceremonies were then taken as an example when the Koryŏ court moved to the island Kangwado in the thirteenth century and build the Tan'gun ritual place Ch'amsŏngdan on Mt. Ma'nisan.

⁹² According to Ri Ch'angŏn (2005, 41) the site of Tan'gun's ancestral shrine 단군사터 is situated on Mt Songaksan next to the *Pukbawi* rock on a lower mountain ridge in the west. The (R)yuhwasatangt'ŏ 류화사당터 dating from the Koryŏ period is also in Mt Songaksan, nestled in a plateau inside the east of the old Parŏch'amsŏg fortress walls. The main hall is documented in the Chinese envoy document, the *Koryŏ Tokyŏng* under the name *Tongsinsŏngmochitang* 동신성모지당 that informs that a wooden sculpture of (R)yuhwa 柳花 was kept within.

The progenitor of the first unified Korean kingdom

Not only independence struggles against foreign domination led to interpretation battles and shifts in historiography. Following internal power struggles mythical accounts were woven around the heavenly mandate that was to legitimise a new dynastic progenitor and the end of the previous rule. Kaesŏng that became the capital of the Koryŏ dynasty in 919 under the name Songdo has carried a powerful symbolism for unification from the very legendary beginnings of its foundation. Previously known under the name *Song'ak* when it was a Silla Prefecture, it is said to had been located north of mount Pusosan 扶蘇山. According to Kim Kwanŭi's 金寬毅 twelfth century 'Dynastic Genealogy of Koryŏ' (*P'yŏnnyŏn t'ongnok* 編年通錄), Pusosan had a perfect shape, but was barren. Silla geomancer P'arwŏn prophesied T'aejo Wang Kŏn's ancestor Kangch'ung that if he planted pine trees on the peak of the mountain and moved the town south of it, this action would assure him the birth of the future unifier of the three Han among his descendants (Ko 2007, 87; Lee Tohak 2000, 64). Thereafter the name of the mountain was changed to *Song'ak-san* (Pine Peak) and the prophecy became true. This account of the myth is also preserved in the *Koryŏsa*, the dynastic annals of the Koryŏ, that were recorded in the early years of the successor Yi dynasty, the Chosŏn period (1392-1910). It does not only propagate in retrospect the 'heaven-given' legitimacy of its founder and his successive family, but treatises legitimacy in conjuncture with unification. As with other legends this, too, includes name changes of famous sites (e.g. Sŏnjukkyo described in section V.II.ii) in order to enhance the symbolism of the narrative and the importance of the protagonist linked to it.

Preceding Wang Kŏn, the regional lord Kim Kungye 金弓裔 proclaimed his kingdom called Late Koguryŏ 後高句麗 (901-918 CE), subduing and pacifying cities in today Ch'ungchŏng province down to Kwangju, with Song'ak as capital in 901⁹³ until it was moved to Ch'ŏrwŏn in 905. T'aejo Wang Kŏn, son of a Song'ak gentry's family, was a successful general to Kungye. In 918 he overthrew Kungye for misdemeanours and malpractice and Kungye was murdered in today Pyongyang and entombed in his capital Ch'ŏrwŏn.

⁹³ In 904 Kungye changed the name of his kingdom to Majin 摩震 and then again in 911 to T'aebong 泰封. Interestingly Koreans today usually refer to Kungye's kingdom as T'aebong and not Later Koguryŏ. This might be due to T'aebong being the latest kingdom at a time of grandest territorial extension, but might also show a reluctance to link his kingdom with the powerful legitimacy now reserved to the succession from Koguryŏ to Koryŏ (cp. Park Yong-Woon 2006. *Comprehensive Study of the Historical relationship between Koryŏ and Koguryŏ*, Iljisa: Seoul).

For obvious reasons, the Koryŏ historical narratives shed a negative and belittling light on Kungye, a tradition that keeps alive until today. Although in contemporary history Wang Kŏn is referred to as the founder, *T'aejo*, of Koryŏ, there are many references in the *Koryŏsa* referring to Wang Kŏn as the successor to Kungye, who founded the Late Koguryŏ Kingdom. This leads historians to argue (e.g. Vermeersch 2001, 39-48 and Breuker 2006, 45-49) that the founding of the new Koryŏ dynasty under T'aejo only came much later and was most probably achieved in retrospect, a fact that is largely ignored in the widely spread and propagated concept of a unifying Koryŏ dynasty and its symbolism for contemporary unification.

Contemporary history books depict Kungye badly, history comics, for example, clearly caricature Kungye as a shady and disfigured opportunist (Figure 22).⁹⁴



Figure 22: A crooked, evil-eyed Kungye as depicted in one of the many educational comic books based on historical documents (Hŏ and Pak 2006, 12). The right box's mocking dialogue is an illustrative example on how myths of royal legitimacy are invented, disbelieved and twisted in accordance to the personal aims and general accepted convictions of the time. **Kungye:** 'The crow lost a paper written with the character King ... It is a mandate from heaven for me to become king.' **Crow:** 'What illusion. This is not a mandate from heaven. It is a mandate from me [crow symbolising bad luck⁹⁵]'.

If attributed positively or negatively, politics protruding social life and cultural practice is thus always underlying subjective and ideological judgement. Like historiography, the transmission of cultural material and customs are chosen to be remembered, or even made up, to give an

⁹⁴ For an earlier English language paper on the interpretation of personal characters in the founding of Koryŏ see: G. Cameron Hurst 1981. The Good, The Bad and The Ugly: Personalities in the founding of the Koryŏ Dynasty, *Korean Studies Forum*, 7:1-27; Richard O. McBride, 2004. Why did Kungye claim to be the Buddha Maitreya?, *Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies*, 2-1:35-62. For a discussion on the interpretation legacy from the past until today see: Yi Tohak 2000. *The passionate period of Kungye, Chinhwŏn (Kyŏn Hwŏn) and Wang Kŏn* (Kungye Jinhwŏn Wang Kŏn-kwa yŏljŏng-ŭi sidae 궁예 진훤 왕건과 열정의 시대), Seoul: Kimmyoungsa.

⁹⁵ The bad luck links to yet another legendary prophecy, namely that the new-born Kungye, son of the Silla King Hŏnan, would bring disaster to the kingdom. Despite the King's order to kill him, Kungye's nurse hid and raised him secretly.

interpretation of one's past and present. Thus, throughout history, politics has had ramifications in culture and cultural practice following very similar patterns irrelevant to the authoritarian powers' respective ideologies.

The cyclic repetition of history, where the betrayal of a dynasty and the ruler is followed by a new dynasty, was a well-known motif popularly expressed in literature. Nearly 500 years after the betrayal and murder of Kungye and foundation of the Koryŏ dynasty, the late Koryŏ official Kang Hoebaek 姜淮伯 is remembered of the repeating events by his present reality. He was part of the late Koryŏ scholar faction opposing dynastic change from Koryŏ to Yi (Chosŏn) and among those, who lost his position and was sent to exile on request of the new dynastic progenitor T'aejo Yi Sŏnggye (*T'aejo Sillok* 1:59b). Drawing from historical examples and his personal experience Kang concludes in the last two lines of his eight liner titled *Lament for the old capital of King Kung[ye]* (*Tongmunsŏn* 17:9a) that:

Since ancient times vicissitudes all had their cause

One has to look at (and learn from) the previous mistakes and be alert for the future.

This chapter is aiming to follow the poem's call and to reveal some of the recurrent patterns and politically used cultural themes in order to learn from these examples and relate them to present cultural and political behaviours in Kaesŏng.

Reviving the teachings of the *Ch'eng I* (Book of Change), the Chinese Sung Neo-Confucian Chu Hsi (1130-1200) wrote:

In order to control the minds of the people, unify one's kin, and enrich social customs so that people will not forget their origin, it is necessary to clarify genealogy, group members of the clan together, and institute a system of heads of descent.

(Deuchler 1992, 130)

He endorsed that first one needs to clarify the line of descent, then establish the head of the descent group and lastly institutionalise ancestor worship and the veneration of the ancestors' radiant culture. Latest with the trend of Neo-Confucianism that came to a fore in the late Korean Koryŏ dynasty based on Chu Hsi's school of thought, there must have been a conscious use of socio-cultural elements by the ruling class 'in order to control the minds of the people'.

As prescribed by Chu Hsi's school of thought, ancestor worship of the dynastic founder, the established head of descent, was institutionalised. Traditionally this legitimacy to succession was based on blood-relationships. In Confucianism, ancestor worship puts the 'principle of agnation' (*chongbŏp*) ritually in practice. Measured on the place in the ritual hierarchy of agnates, an individual's rights and duties within the descent group is determined and allocates to him a corresponding standing in the political sphere (Deuchler 1992, 129). Symbolically this blood-relationship is also transferred to the forefathers of political entities who gave birth to a new blood line of people. This symbolism has found expressions from past times until now in more or less official addressing terms like *sijo* (progenitor), *kukpo* (parent of the country), *kŏn'guk-ŭi abŏji* (father of nation foundation') or *ŏbŏi* (parent). In addition to legitimising political rule and its succession, this understanding of blood-relationships analogously also applies to the familiarisation of the nation and the parental love and guardian duties of the sovereign towards his people, caring for them like his children.

Especially for the ruling class, the building, visiting, and ritual commemoration at their ancestor's shrines and tombs had been important expressions of their legitimacy. The location, the burial ceremony and form of the tomb are indicators of the social rank of the deceased, as well as the proper manner of their realization was conceived conspicuously necessary for the

future well-being of the deceased's family. Conscious of the importance of ancestral worship in achieving harmony among governmental affairs and all other imperial concerns, the Koryŏ kings were eager to protect the tombs and pay homage to their predecessors, rituals that were ideologically charged and served the legitimisation of the rule. This care for funerals⁹⁶ and tombs led to continuous changes through renovations, removals⁹⁷ and reconstructions. This is especially true for royal tombs and memorial halls, the most prominent case being the ones of the founder of Koryŏ, the great progenitor king T'aejo Wang Kŏn (Figure 23).

⁹⁶ The North Korean scholar Kye Sŭngmu wrote an article on Koryŏ burial customs still known today. There he mainly describes the 3-year mourning custom with reference to the *Koryŏsa* and grave tablets. Kye Sŭngmu 2006. Studies on Koryŏ period funeral customs (Koryŏsigi-ŭi changle p'ungsŭb-e taehan myŏt kaji koch'al'), *Chosŏn Kogo Yŏn'gu*, 2006 (3): 31-33.

⁹⁷ Already the tomb construction method reflects these anticipated changes. The subterranean or semi-subterranean tomb chamber of Koryŏ royal tombs is covered by the tomb's mound. Some of the stone chambers have a corridor or a tomb entrance leading to the actual tomb chamber allowing re-entry. It was common practice to move the corpse to new tombs in order to improve the burial condition or to save the corpse of desecration during foreign invasions. This construction method also supported the practice of double burials.

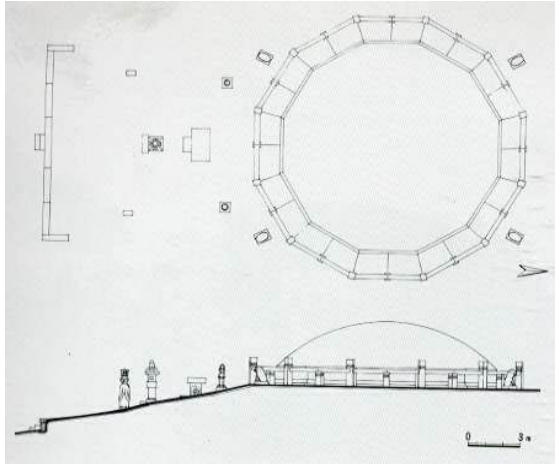


Figure 23: Tomb of King Wang Kōn (943), before the restoration in 1993

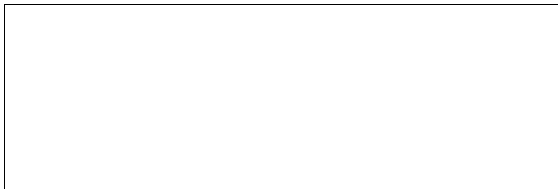


Figure 24: Sindobi stele that informs of the double burial (*hapchang*) of Queen Sinhye together with Koryŏ King T'aejo, front side (NRICH NKCH)

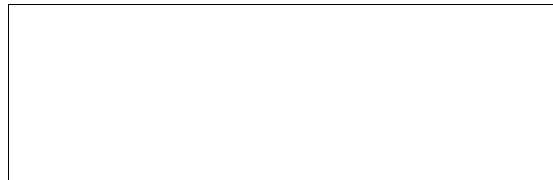


Figure 25: Sindobi back side

Protection of the Koryŏ progenitor's tomb during the Koryŏ period

The Hyŏllŭng tomb 顯陵 of T'aejo Wang Kōn was built in 943 AD at the western foot of Mount Songaksan, north of Kaesŏng in Kaep'ung-gun Haesŏn-ri. He is buried there together with his wife Queen Sinhye⁹⁸ in a stone chamber tomb covered with a mound, a so-called *tolk'anhŭlk mudom* 돌칸흙무덤 (or also *sŏksil pongt'omyo* 石室封土墓 in South Korea).

⁹⁸ The inscription of the so called Sindobi memorial stele in the tomb precinct informs that King Wang Kōn was interred together with his wife, Queen Sinhye 神惠王后 (Figure 24 and Figure 25). Notably, the first six Koryŏ kings were interred together with one of their respective wives in a double burial. This custom can also frequently be observed in the graves of high officials (Yi Nanyŏng 李蘭映 1968. *Additions to Korean epigraphy* (*Han'guk kūmsŏkmun ch'ubo* 韓國金石文追補), Seoul: Chungang University Press, 111+219). The reasons behind this change in burial practice with King Mokjong 穆宗 will need further attention and study. One connected factor might be the change of marriage practice from that practiced in the first generations in Koryŏ, when close kin was linked by marriage as a most effective measure to consolidate royal power (Deuchler 1992, 57ff).

Although Wang Kōn forbade his successors to construct personal memorial temples, *wōnch'al* 願刹, the Pongūnsa temple was constructed in his memory in 951 under King Kwangjong, in which a statue or picture of the king was placed.⁹⁹ Succeeding kings visited the Pongūnsa memorial temple on Wang Kōn's death memorial days and the lantern festival and performed ancestor worship rituals in front of a sacred portrait of T'aejo (Vermeersch 2004a, 7; Breuker 2006, 191-2).¹⁰⁰ Particularly in times of distress and the political unstable middle Koryŏ period, when threatened by foreign powers, rulers addressed the ancestral spirit to pray in front of his slightly larger than life, bronze statue.¹⁰¹ In a footnote Vermeersch (2004a, 14, n 34) gives a concrete example of King Injong who went there in 1133 after previous prayers for his reign failed to show results (*Koryŏsa chŏryo* 16:29b). As Breuker already noted 'this kind of direct, visible and ritually charged attention was not uncommon (*Koryŏsa* 17:25b-26a)' and when King Ŭijong (r. 1146-1170) for instance, visited the tombs of King Wang Kōn, it 'was connected to his ambitious undertaking to restore the glory of the Koryŏ rulers' (Breuker 2006, 69, n4).

The sense of protection of the highly symbolic progenitor's 'relics' even went so far that during the Mongol invasions of the Koryŏ period of the early eleventh century (*Koryŏsa* 4:20a-b, 29a, 31b) and thirteenth century (*Koryŏsa* 23:26b, 23:36b) the royal tomb, coffin, memorial tablets and portraits of the founder king T'aejo were moved (*ijang* 移葬) several times to make sure they would not fall into enemy hands.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Sem Vermeersch explained that the memorial temples, as the main foci of ancestor worship, were not related to the royal tombs. It is only in the late Koryŏ period, with the establishment of the memorial temple Kwangt'ong Poje sŏnsa of King Kongmin (1351-1374) and his spouse that they were established next to tombs, a custom that continued into the Chosŏn period (Vermeersch 2004a, 16). Interestingly the only recently excavated (1973-1975) and 1993 reconstructed tomb in the Pyongyang Yŏkp'o district, allegedly of the Koguryŏ progenitor king Tongmyŏng, is also accompanied by a memorial temple, the Chŏnglŭngsa 定陵寺 (NRICH 1998, 21).

¹⁰⁰ *Koryŏsa* 22:9b. The location of the Pongūnsa temple is not ascertained. According to Ko Yusŏp's research, it was situated in the south-western part of the city, near the national academy *kukchagam*. It was also reconstructed many times during the Koryŏ period (Ko 1935.11.16, *Koryŏ Sibo*).

¹⁰¹ This way of ancestor worship was notably not Confucian and during the reign of Sŏngjong (r. 981-997), it was briefly replaced by the orthodox Confucian form of worship using memorial tablets. After his reign the statue was again worshipped in the former manner (Breuker 2006, 192).

¹⁰² The frequent reburials asked for new codified funeral practices and rules. In 1202 the so called *changle dogam* 唯葬禮都監 funeral rules were introduced by King Sinchong 神宗 that also addressed reburials. *Koryŏsa*

During the second Liao (Kitan) invasion of Koryŏ in 1018, his coffin was provisionally moved to the Hyanglimsa temple on Mt. Pusan in Seoul¹⁰³ [in the present known as Samgaksan as used by North Korean scholars, or commonly Pukhansan by most South Koreans] and again returned to his original tomb in November 1019 (Kim Ŭnt'aek 1996, 131). In the case of the Kitan invasion in 1217 under King Kojong (r. 1213-1259) the memorial tablets and coffin of T'aejo were moved to Pongŭnsa temple. And again during the Mongol invasion in 1232, the coffin and the portraits of T'aejo Wang Kŏn were taken along to the temporary capital Kangdo on Kanghwa-island (1231-1270) (Breuker 2006, 193; KS 23:26b),¹⁰⁴ where they were reburied and moved on a couple of occasions.¹⁰⁵ Following the capital return to Kaesŏng in 1270, T'aejo Wang Kŏn's sculpture and coffin were housed in a temporary building in Kaesŏng district Nip'an-dong (*Koryŏsa chŏryŏ* 26:34b).

64 관, 예 6, 지 권제 18, 凶禮, 國恤. For the change in funeral practices as seen through the burial gifts in Koryŏ period burials, see Charlotte Horlyck 2001. Tracking Chronological Change in Korean Burials of the Koryŏ Period, *Journal of East Asian Archaeology*, 3(3):199-218.

¹⁰³ *Koryŏsa* 4:20a-b; *Koryŏsa* 4:29a; *Koryŏsa* 4:31b.

¹⁰⁴ Ri Ch'angŏn (2005, 41) writes in his introduction of Kaesŏng's history that there were two Koryŏ period ancestral shrines situated in Kaesŏng's Mount Songaksan. One ancestral shrine was for the mother of Koguryŏ founder king Tongmyŏng, the so called Ryuhwasadang documented in the *Koryŏ tokyŏng* as *Tongsinsŏngmojidang* and another for Tan'gun. According to Ri the latter was moved in the thirteenth century with the capital to Kanghwa-do where it was re-installed on Mount Manisan.

¹⁰⁵ T'aejo's portrait was enshrined in a new temple in Kaesŏng in 1234 (*Koryŏsa* 23:28b) only to be moved to a palace in the Southern capital three months later (*Koryŏsa* 23:28b-29a). In 1243 his remains were again reburied in Kangdo (*Koryŏsa* 23:36b).



Figure 26: Celadon wine cup with inlaid decoration found inside the burial chamber of Koryŏ T'aejo's tomb (© NRICH NKCH)

In September 1276 a reburial took place, along which new burial gifts were added. Unambiguous proof for added burial gifts are some of the objects from the tomb chamber excavated in 1992, for instance a celadon wine cup dated to the 12th-13th century (Kim Inch'ŏl 2002, 26) (Figure 26). Due to the manifold relocations during war times, it cannot be clearly ascertained if the tomb's location or especially its outer decoration is the original from 943. However, the general shape of the tomb has probably not changed much.¹⁰⁶ Korean scholars (North and South) concede the possibility for the tomb and its wall paintings to be of the 1276 reburial date, thus not being the original early tenth century tomb.¹⁰⁷

Protection of the Koryŏ progenitor's tomb during the Chosŏn period

With the dynastic change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn in 1392, the significance of the Koryŏ dynastic progenitor and the sense of protection changed, too. Yi Sŏnggye, the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty that succeeded the Koryŏ dynasty, was deeply concerned with justifying his rule. While attempting to move forward from the legacy of the Koryŏ dynasty, he wanted to make the transition of power appear natural and permitted the making of regular offerings to T'aejo Wang Kŏn, as well as two other prominent kings '(Choi Mihwa 2009, 190; *T'aejo sillok* 1:51b, 1:52a, 1392.08.08). However, the cast statue (*chusang*) of T'aejo Wang Kŏn was moved to the Majŏn'gun district situated half way between the old capital Kaesŏng and

¹⁰⁶ For a graphic of the built up of Wang Kŏn's inner stone tomb chamber see: Lee Ch'ang-ŏn 2002, 209. From the outside tomb decorum only a pair of protective tomb pillars *mangjusŏk*, a stone table, one pair of scholar official stone images, two pairs of stone animals and one stone lantern remained into the twentieth century. Further down on the on the lower level of the tomb compound is a *pigak*, a building to protect the grave inscription and the t-shaped ritual hall *chŏngchagak*. The *chŏngchagak* was destroyed during the Korean War in 1950 and rebuilt after its original shape in 1954.

¹⁰⁷ Kim Inch'ŏl (2002, 26) still writes that despite the later added and dated ceramics, the tomb structure and its wall paintings are still important historical examples for the study of early Koryŏ culture.

the new capital Seoul (Vermeersch 2004a, 13). Moving the dominating symbolism of the previous dynasty out of focus without totally breaking it goes to show that the new established government clearly recognized the significance of rites as devices for ordering society during the time of dynastic foundation.

However, after allegations in 1394 that some members of the Wang clan were planning a revolt, Yi Sŏnggye had all men of the Wang clan killed and banned the use of their name (Choi Mihwa 2009, 190). This cruel event was immediately officially justified and excused, and under the succeeding King Sejong the T'aejo statue continued to be worshipped, a practice that officials recommended, as it 'allowed people to look up to and admire T'aejo as if he were a father and mother' (*Sejong Sillok* 20:29b, *Sejong Sillok* 4:1a-b). Nonetheless, an accidental fire in 1425 destroyed a temple designated for making offerings on behalf of the Wang clan. The fact that King Sejong ordered not to rebuilt the temple as he did not feel any need to do offerings for them has Choi conclude (2009, 198-9) that already by then, the legitimacy of the new dynasty was well established (*Sejong Sillok* 30: 21a 1425.12.19). This was followed by a request in 1427 to bury three portrait paintings of T'aejo (*Sejong Sillok* 37:11b) and in 1429 King Sejong consented to a request to bury several paintings (*chin*) of T'aejo, as well as a cast statue of T'aejo from Munŭihyŏn and other portraits of Koryŏ rulers near their respective tombs (*Sejong Sillok* 41:6b). In 1433 another eighteen Koryŏ portraits were buried with due ceremony. No Myŏnggho (2004, 150-215) concluded that the indigenous character of honouring the statue of T'aejo that was mingled with Buddhism was so underscored and instead emphasised and instituted neo-Confucian rituals of worship that replaced portraits with memorial tablets in honour of the founder of the previous dynasty (Breuker 2006, 192, n.89).

Notably these appeals of burial were not openly expressed as being politically motivated, but argued on the ground that worshipping images was not in accordance to neo-Confucian ritual practice. This argumentation however was not followed through on equal terms as the enshrined figures of Confucian sages worshipped as figures, too, were only replaced considerably later by memorial tablets, for example in Kaesŏng in 1574.

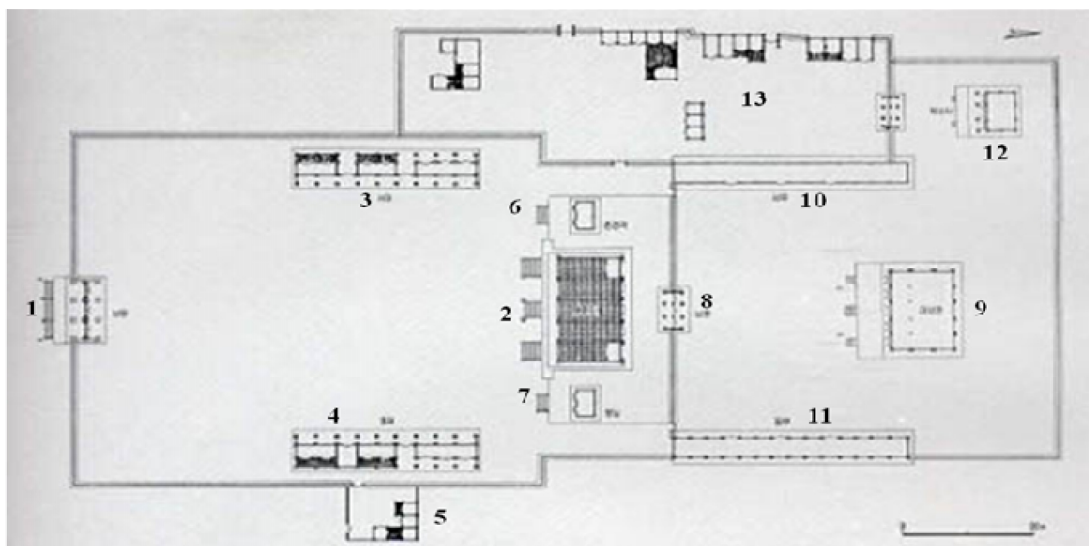


Figure 27: Ground plan of the Sönggyun'gwan:

1) Sammun, Outer Three Door Gate 2) Myöngnyundang lecture hall 3) Söjae western students' quarters 4) Tongjae Eastern students' quarters 6) Chon'gyönggak repository of Confucian scripts 7) Hyangsil incense depository 8) Naesammun Inner Three Door Gate 9) main hall Taesöngjön 10) Sömu, Western Confucian scholars' shrines 11) Tongmu, Eastern Confucian scholars' shrines 12) Kyesongsa 13) Chönsach'öng, shrine for officials

Enshrined in the Memorial Hall of Kaesöng's Sönggyun'gwan (Figure 27), where sacrifices were offered to Confucius and other sages, were Confucian sculptures dated to 1320 (see also chapter V.IV). Like many visitors before and after him, when Kim Sisüp (金時習 1435-1493) visited Kaesöng in spring 1457, he was especially impressed by them (Häußler 2004, 48). Nam Hyoon gives a detailed account of his visit in 1485. According to him

Seventy Confucian disciples were enshrined with ancestral tablets in the western and eastern flanking buildings [10 and 11]. Inside the main memorial hall, the Taesöngjön [9], were clay figures; that of Confucius in the centre and next to him those of Anyön 顏淵, Chüngja 曾子, Chasa 子思 and Mengtse 孟子. Inside the *Chönsach'öng* [13] one could see the clay figures of the *kongmun sipch'öl* 孔門十哲, Ten Disciples of Confucius. The place looked like in Hanyang [Seoul], but the form of the figures was different. I carefully looked at each of them and went out (Chön Kwansu 2008, 83).

A few years earlier Ch'ae Su also mentions his sacrificial audience at the Memorial Hall. He includes the information that the above mentioned Five Confucian spirits (*osŏng* 五聖) and the Ten Disciples of Confucius are all represented as plastic figures that were done under the Yuan (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 24-25). Although the comment is left as such, it contains a judgement. The foreign domination under the Yuan in the Koryŏ period belittles the preceding Koryŏ dynasty and its remains that reveal their foreign influence, while further acknowledging the superiority of the successor dynasty Yi Chosŏn.

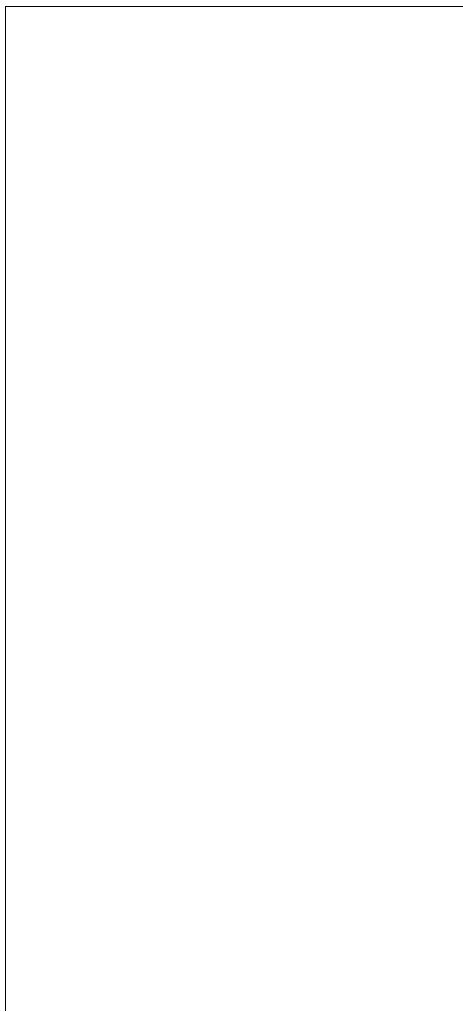


Figure 28: Royal ceremonial hat wear, *Myŏllyukwan*

In the same year, in 1477, the scholar Yu Ho-in describes his visit of the Sŏnggyun'gwan not only value neutral, but positively. We 'came to the Sŏnggyun'gwan and saw the plastic image of Confucius. He wears a *Myŏllyukwan* hat (冕旒冠, see Figure 28) and *Kujangbok* 九章服 attire. The arrangement of his clothes with the lower ends of the back and front orderly arranged leave no doubt of his rank of a king' (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 70). The prior negative judgement however must have prevailed, because in 1574 they were cleansed from Yuan influences and replaced by memorial tablets. As the sculptures were too big to be moved outside, they were shattered to pieces at the northern wall and then buried behind the walls (Korean History Research Group 2002, 214).

Changing interpretations of T'aejo Wang Kōn- The Discovery of a bronze figure

During an excavation in October 1992, the archaeologists found a gilt-bronze sedentary statue five metres north of Wang Kōn's tomb (Figure 29). Its great quality suggests that it may have been the portrait statue once placed in the Pongŭnsa temple, and recorded to have been buried near the new re-burial under Chosŏn King Sejong in 1431 (No Myŏngho 2006, 226). 'The image is 1.51 metres in height and 80 kg in weight. It was discovered 1.5 to 2 metres under the ground, covered over by a 150 cm x 150 cm granite slab. At the moment of discovery, thin silk cloth and gilt-bronze pieces were stuck to the body and the head and some other parts have



traces of gold plating. The headdress of the sedentary image appears like a royal crown. It is made up of an outer and inner section, the former being wide with a hill-like shape on the central front. The inner parts have a methodical array of eight round ornaments, six of which still remain, some showing the sun and moon. North Koreans argue 'since the sun, moon, hill, water and the likes are ornaments symbolizing the emperor or King at his time, the recently unearthed crown is no doubt a royal crown. [...] Together with the sedentary figure, 12 beaded belts were also discovered. The belt ornaments are mostly white-gray, square or curved on the upper part. In quality, colour and shape these are the same as the two beaded belt ornaments, which were found in the burial chamber of the tomb.' If the sedentary figure were a representation of the king, it would be the 'oldest image cut after a true historical figure in Korea. In the Koryŏ period and before that there were metal Buddhist images but none was made after a real figure' (KCNA1998.01.14).

Figure 29: Frontal view of life-size gilt-bronze sculpture (© NMK 2006, 112)

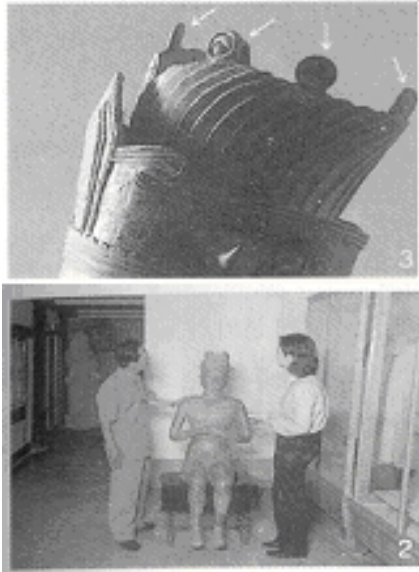


Figure 30: Life-size gilt-bronze sculpture: a detail of the crown and a picture of the late Kaesŏng Koryŏ museum director Wang Songsu explaining the sculpture (KBS)



Figure 31: The publication by Saitō (1996) on North Korean archaeology still shows the statue exhibited in the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum seated on a stone pedestal labelled as a bronze Buddha figure

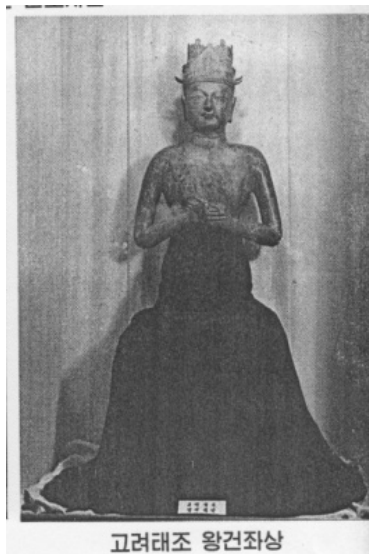


Figure 32: Decently covered portrait figure in the Koryŏ exhibition Hall in the Pyongyang Central History Museum (Minjok Munhwa Yusan 2007(2), 36) on the left and on the right in the exhibition 'Cultural Treasures from the North' in Seoul 2008

In the first year after its discovery the North Korean sources still referred to the statue as a gilt-bronze Buddha statue, *kŭmdongbulsang* (Academy of Social Science 1993(2):48 and Kim Ŭn-t'aek 1999, 140). Then the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum exhibited the statue as a bronze Buddha figure, labelling it *ch'ŏngdongbulsang* (Figure 31). In the following years many North Korean texts tended to name it a gilt-bronze seated portrait figure *kŭmdong chwasang* without any

reference to T'aejo.¹⁰⁸ Latest by 2004 the statue was universally titled as King T'aejo sculpture. Although the final identification with T'aejo Wang Kōn is based on historical and scientific research, the symbolic implications of having discovered the ancestral portrait statue of the 'father of national unification' must have been extremely appealing. The new found identity might also explain the reason behind exhibiting the statue decently covered and not as before 'nude' (Figure 32).

Kaesŏng cultural heritage policy and authoritarian interpretation thus reveal how they have been a pawn in changing political scenes and ambitions. Living a few years into the new Chosŏn dynasty that succeeded the Koryŏ dynasty, the prominent and celebrated scholar official Yi Saek (李穡 1328-1396) laments the new time's (loyalty) shift from care for the Koryŏ dynasty and its rulers to neglect, and memory to forgetfulness.

In the New Year the tomb of princess Noguk, *Chŏnglŭng*, is well frequented, but there is no one who comes to the Hyŏnlŭng tomb of King Kongmin. Green and mighty pine trees surround the two tombs, the harmonium hung up in the *chŏn'gak* ritual building is sprinkled by snow. It is the place where several performances took place in the king's presence, poets recited poems and musicians sang ballads. [...] The government officials of the former days are now all in service of the new Chosŏn dynasty. Who is going to look for the old traces of the wine offerings, *chujŭ* 酒池? A memorial stele is inscribed with letters on the mountains slope, but what an immense shame! My name appears in the first row. At a time I thought it to be an honour, but now nobody remembers (lives up to that honour). Why is this one body of mine that lonely in the universe?¹⁰⁹ (Yi Saek as cited in *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, 1530, 5)

This thought is indicative of changing values and thus interpretations of the significance of cultural heritage sites, particularly when their memories are open to ideological connotations and interpretations. It shows that with the dynastic political change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn in

¹⁰⁸ One of the latest such labelling was done by Kim In-Ch'ŏl (2003, 17-18, originally 2002) in his T'aejo Wangkōn tomb excavation report.

¹⁰⁹ *Reference of places in the Eastern Kingdom* (1530, *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 신증동국여지승람 Vol 5, chapter 개성부 하 開城府下).

1392, the cultural symbolism and significance of Koryŏ royal tombs also changed. The political change explains the changes in the practice of safeguarding and cultural rituals at previous (heritage) memorial sites associated to the previous dynasty.

Chosŏn period safeguarding of Koryŏ royal tombs

The earliest recorded initiative to protect the royal tombs under Chosŏn rulers was by T'aejong in 1406 who instructed the installation of tomb guardians for eight Koryŏ royal tombs. It foresaw the most guards, three, for Wang Kŏn's tomb and also prohibited the collecting of firewood or making fire in its surroundings (*T'aejong Sillok* 1:352). Although very brief and general in its instructions, his successors Sejong, too, ordered the safeguarding of Koryŏ T'aejo's tomb in 1432 (*Sejong Sillok* 3:370). Judging from the following travel account the protective measures seem not to have been sufficiently or long enough in effect.



Figure 33: The stone table's foundation is beautifully carved with flower and bird motifs.



Figure 34: One of the tomb guardian animals, a tiger

In 1477, two hundred years after the supposed last reburial of T'aejo Wang Kŏn, the scholar official Yu Hoin writes in his Kaesŏng travelogue of how his travel group asked for directions for the Koryŏ tomb. Following an old lady's directions indicated with her fingers in the nearby P'aji-dong district, they saw a tomb appearing out of the bushes. Next to the tomb was a stone stele inscribed: 高麗始祖顯陵, (*Koryŏ sijo hyŏnlŭng* 'The Hyŏn-tomb of the Koryŏ progenitor'). The stone sculptures, *sŏksang* 石床, were covered in creepers. Despite following the common and popular literary trope for the previous dynasty's demise, the descriptions of

the desolate and neglected state of the progenitor's tomb give some vivid impressions of the site. Yu sees an opened mat in front of the tomb, suggesting that a rite must have taken place a little earlier. Citing a popular tomb keepers' saying, he mocks the locals' superstition instead of valuing their spiritual care-taking of the tomb.

We lived here since long, on ritual days we follow our duty without fail, nicely arranging wine and meat at the tomb. If not, in the evening or raining night the visiting monarch will surely hear the sound of drums and trumpets, and then people will complain of sickness and not recover from fever.

(Yu Hoin 1477 in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 53)

Yu Hoin continues reporting that 'In a valley north there are around two tombs in 100 step distance between each other. People are saying that these are supposed to be the tombs of King Ch'ungjŏngwang (r.1348-51)¹¹⁰ and King Ch'unghyewang (r. 1330-32, 1339-44).¹¹¹ But there are no markers to verify the claim' (Yu Hoin in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 53-4). One could speculate if it is due to their negative qualities as rulers (immoral and weak) that their tombs were ignored and forgotten by the early Chosŏn officials as well as the common population.

In comparison, the location of King T'aejo's tomb was known and the effort made to visit it. Nevertheless the scholar Yu does not show much concern about its bad state. Only a few years after this account, the *Kyŏnggukdaejŏn* 經國大典, the first code of constitutional law in the Chosŏn period compiled in 1485, notes temporary administrators, who took care of the royal tomb areas *underneath the one* of King T'aejo and made sure that it was not used for farming or collecting firewood.¹¹² Again under King Sŏngjong in 1493 safeguarding Koryŏ T'aejo's tomb was instructed (*Sŏngjong Sillok* 12:455).

After the Japanese Invasion in 1592 and the following Seven-Year War, King Sŏnjo (宣祖 r.1567-1608) needed to show his care for the savaged country. He ordered to give a ritual to the royal as well as subjects' tombs. In 1603 it was advised to restore the tombs of previous

¹¹⁰ In the *Koryŏsa* Ch'ungjŏngwang is remembered for his licentious lifestyle that also included abducting, raping and killing women.

¹¹¹ King Ch'unghyewang ruled under close control of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty. He was slain and his uncle, king Kongmin seized power.

¹¹² The *Kyŏnggukdaejŏn*, Vol 3, identifies them to be the tombs of king Hyŏnjong and Munjong (顯宗 宣陵 No 8, 文宗 景陵 No 11). The tombs' location is disputable as tomb No 8 and 11 are nowadays recorded to be somewhere else.

dynasties, as the one of T'aejo, but also the tombs of loyal subjects like the one of scholar Chŏng Mongju (*Sŏnjo Sillok* 24:339, 469 and 538, see also chapter V.II.ii). A few years later, in 1610 when internal politics were seriously weakened by factional intrigues and violence, his successor Kwanghaegun (r. 1608–1623) also ordered repairs and rituals for Koryŏ royal as well as loyalists' tombs (*Kwanghae Sillok* 26:524).

In order to prevent farming and herding in the precincts of the Koryŏ royal tombs, King Hyŏnjong (顯宗 r.1659-74) had put up entry prohibition signs 200 feet (*po* 步) around the tomb of T'aejo in 1662. He further ordered to repair the T'aejo tomb and to conduct rituals. His Kaesŏng town administrator (*yusu* 留守) Hong Ch'ŏryang 洪處亮 installed three caretakers for the numerous tombs of the town's region in 1669 (*Hyŏnjong Sillok* 36:336, 36:678). Notably the town administrators are mentioned quite frequently in their role to oversee these repairs. They seem to have forwarded the royal instructions and contracted lower personnel to supervise the job that later often was rewarded with an upgrade in their official rankings.¹¹³

The instruction 'to repair Koryŏ royal tombs and to find the descendents of the Wang [Koryŏ dynastic] family in order to let them know about it' (*Yŏngjo Sillok* 41:677) in 1727, the beginning of King Yŏngjo's (英祖 r.1724-1776) reign, nicely reflects a politically motivated concern in the repair of Koryŏ royal tombs to win over the favours of the Wang family clan (see also chapter V.II.ii on the construction of the P'yoch'ungbi memorial stele). Later in 1765 he had illegal burials in the area of royal tombs removed and grass planted to conserve and improve the tombs' circumference. He also implemented punishments for illegal burials and farming on the royal tomb ground in form of fees and even exile (*Yŏngjo Sillok* 44:205).

In order to get an overview of the condition of the royal tombs in the Kaesŏng area, King Kojong (高宗 r.1863-1907) implemented a conservation programme and had tombstone markers built. He also ordered a regulation to examine Koryŏ royal tombs once every three years.¹¹⁴ Earlier in 1818, King Sunjo (純祖 r.1800-1834) had prominent scholars write reports

¹¹³ *Kojong Sillok* 1 년 갑자(1864, 동치 3), 11 월 28 일(을축); *Kojong Sillok* 4 년 정묘(1867, 동치 6), 9 월 19 일(기사); and idem. the following day 1867.09.20; *Kojong Sillok* 16 년 기묘(1879, 광서 5), 9 월 7 일(정축); In 1907 it is the Kaesŏng provincial administrator *kunsu* 郡守 who bestowed a higher rank: *Kojong Sillok* 44 년 정미(1907, 광무 11)1 월 20 일(임자, 양력 3 월 4 일)

¹¹⁴ *Kojong Sillok*, 4 년 6 월 3 일. Careful consideration is due to the continuous restoration of tombs, like during the 4th year of King Kojong 1867, when many Koryŏ tombs were repaired. There are 23 similar tombs of which a dozen are thought to be the ones of Koryŏ kings. Yet the identification is still a matter of diverse interpretation of historical records and excavation reports. Also the burials of members of the royal family seem to be similar

on the royal tombs, the renown scholar Cho Chongyŏng (趙鍾永 1771-1829) recorded a total of fifty-seven Koryŏ tombs, of which he attributed forty-one to the Kaesŏng area (the remaining sixteen tombs being in Changda, P'ungdŏk, Kanghwa and Koyang).¹¹⁵ King Kojong also had destroyed tombs restored. The motivation, method and restoration expenses can still be read on the record-stele that was installed in front of King T'aejo's tomb through the Kaesŏng *yusu* Kim Suhyŏn in 1867.¹¹⁶

Pressed for some enhanced action after the looting and damage of many Koryŏ period tombs in the first years of the twentieth century, Kojong re-issued previous instructions in his 'regulations for the repair of Koryŏ royal tombs' (*Yŏrŭngsuhodŭngnok* 麗陵守護謄錄) in December 1906. However it only addresses problems caused by locals like farming and easy access, not mentioning tomb looting. First he re-established the size of the protected area around the respective tombs in which farming and building was prohibited, but 'seriously breached in previous years'. T'aejo Wang Kŏn's received the largest with 200 feet (*po* 步), Hyŏnjong 顯宗, Munjong 文宗, and Wonjong's tombs 元宗 150 feet, and the other remaining 100 feet each. Pointing at the debt to past sovereigns' who took great care and interest to royal tombs, their good laws should continue.

Since long entrance prohibition signs to the tomb area were a regulation to protect the tombs. This law has been openly ignored in recent years by the local [village] people and so leave no other way than reinforce it. Particularly where there was no tomb owner, the ground of the tomb area was levelled plain [for farming]. New grass shall be planted and the levelled mounds reshaped with earth by the responsible districts.

(*Yŏrŭngsuhodŭngnok* 1906.12.11)

They should also let the people know about the law enforcements. A further measurement was the strict handling of all legal breaching, so were illegal buildings or farmlands no longer to be tolerated and demolished. Just two weeks later T'aejo Wang Kŏn's tomb was robbed. The official Nam Chŏngch'ŏl (南廷哲 1840-1916) documented that in the night of 23 December

or the same in construction and style as the ones of the kings. Further it is recorded that selected members of the influential capital elite were granted state funerals (*Koryŏsa* 64:20-22b, 85:6b, *T'aejong Sillok* 26:29b). So far only eight burials in and around Kaesŏng are confirmed to be Koryŏ kings' tombs.

¹¹⁵ *Sunjo Sillok*, 2091: 131a, 30 March 1818

¹¹⁶ So far my efforts to find a copy of the inscribed text on the *Koryŏ Hyŏllŭng Kaesu Kisilbi* 高麗顯陵改修記實碑 stele were unsuccessful.

1906 several thieves in dark clothes and trimmed hair [alluding to Japanese as Koreans would wear a hair knot] looted the Koryŏ royal tomb Hyŏllŭng (Ŏm Yŏngch'an 1993, 41).



Figure 35: Photograph of Koryŏ King T'aejo's Hyŏllŭng tomb surrounded by a field, early twentieth century

Although the Chosŏn kings occasionally appear to regulate protection of the Koryŏ dynastic tombs, it does not seem to prevent a seemingly overall neglect, and seem more concerned about regulating land use. The protection of Koryŏ dynastic tombs that includes basic cleanings (of weepers) or maintenance repairs is sporadic and superficial, perhaps to keep up the minimum required respect for some of the honourable olden kings.¹¹⁷ Yet on royal visits to Kaesŏng they are not offered any rituals, demonstrating how the royal ancestor line and worship was started anew with the dynastic change. During royal visits the kings are only documented to offer rituals at the Chosŏn royal tombs located near Kaesŏng. One Chosŏn royal tomb is the one of the second king Chŏngjong (r. 1399-1400) called Hulŭng tomb, but it is especially the Cherŭng tomb of Queen Sinŭi,¹¹⁸ first wife of Yi Yŏnggye T'aejo and mother of the early successive kings that receives continuous attention throughout the Chosŏn period.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Notwithstanding their selective and sporadic care of royal tombs, the Chosŏn kings had more restrictive policies towards Buddhist temples and their properties that led to desertion and neglect, and finally practical reuse of many temple sites' building material by locals.

¹¹⁸ Queen Sinui died in 1392 before her husband's enthronement and posthumously became referred to as queen. Her tomb is located in Chidong, Kaep'unggung.

¹¹⁹ King T'aejong, her fifth son, placed a memorial stele at her tomb during his visit in 1410 (*T'aejong Sillok* 18:28b-29a, 18: 30a-b).

Reviving the memory of the progenitors



Figure 36: A Japanese map of royal Koryŏ period tombs in the wider Kaesŏng area from 1926

Not only neglect or reconstruction work led to changes of the Koryŏ tombs. Koryŏ tombs suffered a lot of damage through fire and wars. Human greed and curiosity further led to illegal excavations from the beginning of their construction until today. Already the *Koryŏsa* and the *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* (Veritable records of the Chosŏn Dynasty 朝鮮王朝實錄) document several dozen cases of tomb robberies. One can assume that many more probably took place and certainly followed.¹²⁰ Under the Japanese domination in Korea and ongoing in the end of the twentieth century, the love for Koryŏ celadon wares and bronze mirrors led to an increased degree of art trafficking and tomb robberies.¹²¹ What Japanese records

document as surveys and excavations contending to rediscover and help preserve the glories of ancient Korea long forgotten by the Koreans themselves (Chosŏn

¹²⁰ Hit by the 1994-98 food crises, the number of grave robber groups operating in the Kaesŏng area is said to have increased from about a dozen to over a hundred in the aspect of making easy money, feeding the antique boom emerging in the late 1980s. Kang Chol-hwan, 'Kaesŏng Remains Ruined by Illegal Excavation', *Chosŏn Ilbo*, 2002.01.23 <http://english.chosun.com/cgi-bin/printNews?id=200201230205>

¹²¹ There are many Korean reports about Japanese atrocities against their cultural heritage. North Korean ones are particular numbered and fierce. See for instance the report by the late museum director of the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum on the damage and looting of Koryŏ royal tombs: Wang Sŏngsu 2003. The destruction of Koryŏ period historic royal tombs and the serious Japanese looting of cultural artefacts, *Minjok munhwa yusan*, 2003(4):51-52. n.a. 2006. '왕릉과 고분에 대한 일제의 강도적인 도굴과 파괴행위', *Minjok munhwa yusan*, 2006(3):49-50. An article particularly concerned with the looting of Koryŏ ceramics is Oh Yŏng-ch'ŏl 2005. '일제의 강도적인 고려자기락탈죄행 1+2', *Minjok munhwa yusan*, 2005(3): 53-54, 174 and 2005(4): 52, 175.

Ch'ongdokbu 1931(2): 88-90), Koreans often recorded as destructive lootings.¹²² The loss and destruction of the Koryŏ tombs due to the Chosŏn period's general neglect and ignorance was now continued by the sudden interest and heightened material value of the objects to be discovered in their interior.



Figure 37: Photograph of Hyŏllŭng tomb of T'aejo Wang Kŏn (*Chōsen sōtokufu* 1916a)

Aesthetic value of the royal tombs and what they promised to hold of burial gifts, particularly the highly appreciated celadon wares, took over their ritual, symbolic function. The choicest booty was often bestowed on the Japanese Emperor like the prized turquoise celadon ceramics found only in the tombs of the Koryŏ dynasty nobility around Kaesŏng.¹²³

Soon after the end of Japanese Colonial rule, the restitution of the looted objects or the continuous protection of the remaining cultural goods was a close to impossible task. Trying to curb the illegal possession or damage of cultural artefacts during the unstable period after Liberation, the newspaper article (*Taedong Sinmun*, 1945.12.02) 'Let us safeguard our ancient

¹²² The *Kojong sillok* 2 March 1905 reports a witness account of the looting of Koryŏ King Sinjong's tomb Yanglŭng two weeks earlier. Many lootings of Koryŏ tombs followed in the following days and months, the most prominent perhaps that of King Kongmin in June, as reported in *Kojong Sillok* 30 June 1905 '고려 현릉 등을 파헤친 놈을 잡은 다음 처벌할 것 등을 청하는 궁내부대신 겸임 장례경 이재극의 계'.

¹²³ In a recent interview with the TimeCNN the Japanese archaeologist Kyoichi Arimitsu, who went to Korea as a young graduate student in 1931 said: 'We wanted to know the history of the Korean peninsula, not from reading but from excavating the actual sites'. Although according to him individual researchers had nothing to do with the rampant looting, he still conceded 'Once we found something it went to the Governor General, and then he would choose what went to the Emperor.' (Macintyre 2002)

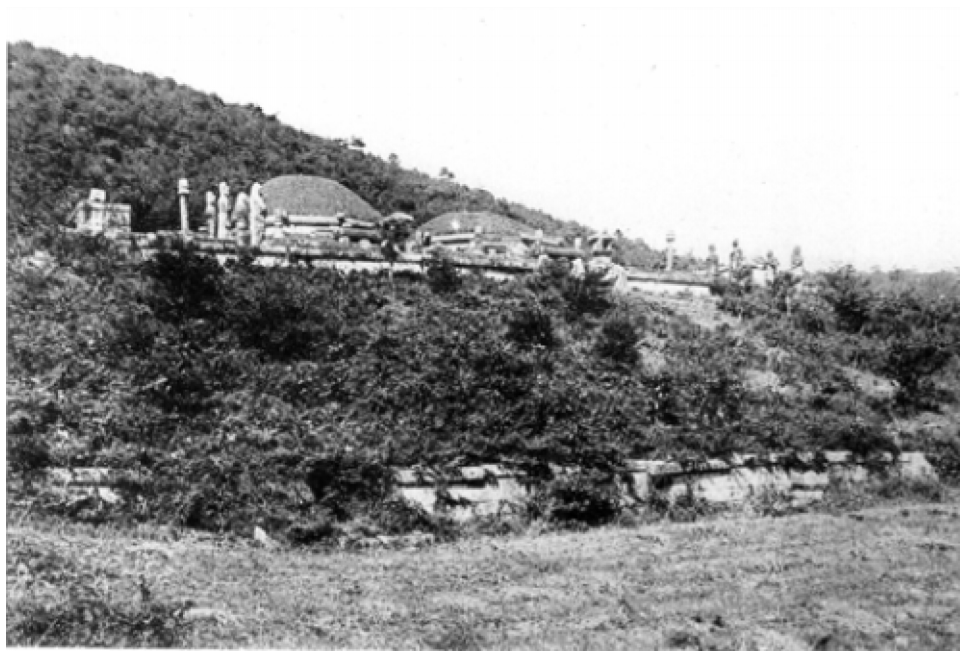
art objects that shine among world culture! Let's be attentive!' appeals to the safeguarding of 'our prided 5000 year old Korean artefacts' and warns that any misconduct or violation will be persecuted.

Following the take-over of the previous Japanese governed cultural property department (29 March 1946), the national museum branches in the southern territory were reopened in spring 1946 (Chapter IV.IV). In April 1947 eight Koryŏ tombs were excavated by the National Museum of Seoul and employees of the Kaesŏng Museum branch south-east of Kaesŏng in Changdan Pŏbdang-bang 長湍 法堂坊. All of them were previously looted and empty, but for one (tomb no 2) wall paintings with the twelve zodiac figures and depictions of the sun, moon and stars on the ceiling were confirmed (Lee Hongjik 1954). At the time a young Korean National Museum official, Hwang Suyŏng¹²⁴ witnessed the damage. 'I saw tombs that were empty and destroyed,' Hwang aged 83 says angrily. 'People came up to me and said, *They threatened me with guns and dug up my ancestors' tomb*' (Macintyre 2002).

The tomb of King Kongmin

Narratives in both Koreas popularly claim that the Japanese particular made repeated attempts to dig up the tomb of the 31st Koryŏ King Kongmin (恭愍王 1330-1374). King Kongmin's tomb is the grandest of all Koryŏ royal tombs, and exceptional due to the double-mound structure. The western mound of the tomb, called Hyŏllung 玄陵, holds the corpse of King Kongmin and the east mound Chŏnglŭng 正陵 the one of his wife Princess Noguk (Till 1989).

¹²⁴ On Hwang Suyŏng (黃壽永 1918-2011) see also page 226.



陵正主公國魯及陵玄王寧恭麗高里陵麗西中郡城開道畿京 (號三一—眞竈)

Figure 38: The tomb of King Kongmin (*Chōsen sōtokufu* 1916a)

The King Kongmin Hyōllŭng mound had been looted in 1905 (*Kojong Sillok* 30 June 1905). Apart from the fact of looting, the robbers also cut a hole into the chamber that destroyed the wall paintings of one corner. The destruction was restored under the Japanese in 1920. Yet, under the DPRK rule that Japanese restoration was discredited as a ‘*so-called* repair survey’ (Ri Hunhyōk 2009, 53) under which cover many more artefacts were looted and which repair strategy (using cement to fill the looter’s holes) further damaged the tomb (Chōn Chu-nong 1960, 73 and 1963, 220). In March 1927 the Korean newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* (1927.03.06) remembers the sacrilegious robbery by Japanese of King Kongmin’s tomb ‘25 years ago’. Not mentioning the 1920 Japanese repair, it claims that since 1905 the tomb was left as it was, open to wind and rain resulting in its current bad state. Due to this urgent matter a repair of the tomb structure with a budget of 300 Won was to be executed by around ‘eighty Kaesōng residents as soon as spring thaw begins’. With emergency restoration money from the Kyōnggido Province Patriots further restoration works are to start (*Tonga Ilbo* 1927.03.06). The following month the ‘Beginning of the reparation of King Kongmin’s Hyōllung and Princess Noguk’s Chōnglŭng’ was announced (*Tonga Ilbo* 1927.04.17).

A recent North Korean news report enlivens the tomb robbery with added details of people’s resistance and Japanese atrocities. At first

the Japanese attempts to dig the mounds failed, owing to the stubborn struggle of the locals, only succeeding after troops and police were mobilized to the robbery. [...] They sealed off the mausoleum in a circle and blasted it open before taking the relics out of it and carrying them away with over ten ox carts (Korea, 2009b).

The collective memory of this national cultural humiliation has called for the protection of national history against the material and ideological robbing, as well as its correction through renewed excavations and interpretations. To correct what the enemy has destroyed has become an even higher incentive for excavations and repairs than the traditional historical or aesthetic value of other sites. in both Korean post-liberation governments an ensuing anti-colonial sentiment provoked nationalist cultural policies to adjust the colonial interpretations to such that constitutes Korean identity.¹²⁵



Figure 39: Walking towards the burial mounds of King Kongmin's Hyöllung and Princess Noguk's Chönglŭng

¹²⁵ In reference to the South Korean post-war developments in cultural policy Pai asserts that due to the extensive interference with Korea's past by the Japanese, the Korean archaeologist has become the 'most widely recognized' and 'most authentic authority' on what constitutes the Korean identity (Pai 2000, 13).

In the North Kim Il Sung taught: ‘Everywhere they went, Japanese imperialistic aggressors took numerous of our country’s ancient remains with them and looted many of our important historical remains’ (Kim Il Sung, *Kimilsŏngchŏnjip* 21:493, also cited in Ri Hun-Hyŏk 2009, 53). Little surprise then, that shortly after taking control of the Kaesŏng region, the DPRK archaeologists were excavating the looted, damaged and Japanese repaired tomb of King Kongmin. The semi-terrestrial tomb chamber of King Kongmin was first surveyed in July 1956 and excavated the following month, August 10-20 (Chŏn Chu’-nong 1960 and 1963, 220). This makes it the first major cultural heritage activity in Kaesŏng after the end of the Korean War in 1953.¹²⁶

The tomb chamber, a replica of which is now on display in the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum (Figure 41), was done following the excavation from August 25-September 7, 1956.

Kongmin’s tomb chamber is also the key to the tomb’s famous mysticism. A ‘history-special’ series by the South Korean broadcaster KBS with a subsequent printed media edition revealed a fantastic romantic story evolving from the inside of the mounds. The eastern wall of Kongmin’s tomb chamber has on its bottom a 43cm high and 38 cm wide tomb entrance incised with a hole on its bottom. It is said that this door hole was



Figure 40: Kim Il Sung visiting the tomb of King Kongmin on 5 May 1992 (Kim Sŏngbok and Han Hyoryŏl 2004, 9)



Figure 41: Small incised door in between the mural painting of the twelve zodiacs inside the burial chamber of Kongmin’s tomb, as seen in the life-size replica in the Koryŏ Museum

¹²⁶ The first archaeological excavation after the Korean War conducted by the Archaeological Institute under the Academy of Social Science was a prehistoric site in Rasŏn at the north-eastern coast (To Yuho 1955).

incorporated in order to allow communication and access between the king and his beloved consort in the afterlife (Figure 42).¹²⁷

Commonly it is therefore referred to as ‘wedding-utensil hole’, *hon’gumǒng* (Hong Yǒngŭi 2006, 197). This contemporary romantic perception is particularly fascinating in the light of King Kongmin’s historical and political role. Since the Mongol invasion in the twelfth century, the Mongol Yuan controlled the Koryŏ royal court and aristocracy.

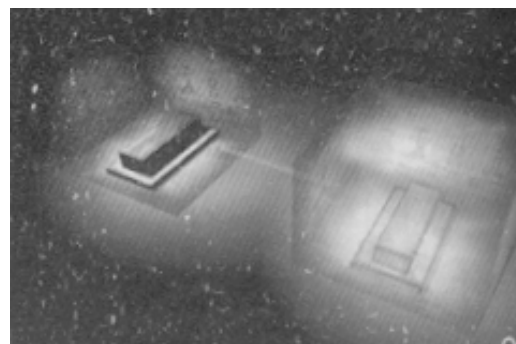


Figure 42: The channel way between the two burial mounds (KBS 2004, 212)

Kongmin's Mongol wife is just one testimony of that power. However, King Kongmin wanted reform, most notably in 1356, by abolishment of Yuan dominance, restoration of the old government structure, recovery of some of Koryŏ's lost territory and adoption of a pro-Ming's stance.¹²⁸ However, in 1365 Kongmin withdrew from political participation grief-struck by the death of his favourite consort Princess Noguk, and devoted his time to build a Buddhist memorial temple for her. The monk Sindon was appointed as state preceptor (*kuksa*) and in fact became Kongmin’s regent (Duncan 2000, 177).

As such Kongmin is at the same time a heroic figure for the fight of state independence and liberation from foreign dominance and emotional weakness he suffered due to his love to a Mongol princess.¹²⁹ It remains an open question whether the focus on the Koryŏ-Mongol love affair is dominated by the find of the unique decorative detail in the best preserved Koryŏ royal tomb, or a desire to belittle the failure of Kongmin’s personal and political attempts to achieve independence from Mongol dominant influence.

¹²⁷ The movie *Ssanghwajŏm* released in winter 2008 depicts another light on King Kongmin’s love relation to his wife! However it employs cultural images that are associated with Kongmin, such as depicting him painting the *Chŏnsan Taeryŏp-do*, Grand Hunt on the Heavenly mountain, a now treasured painting purported to be painted by him (in the National Museum of Korea Seoul). The painting itself and its fate are made symbolic in the movie’s plot, a fusion of fiction and historical reference.

¹²⁸ These reforms however only led to limited or short-lived changes. See, John B. Duncan 2000, *The origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, University of Washington Press, 176-179.

¹²⁹ Some of the Chosŏn period scholars looked at the role of the ‘foreign’ queen with some criticism. See: Yu Hoin, who seeing the old site of Princess Noguk’s ancestral shrine in Kaesŏng, refers back to the Chinese Classic *Spring and Autumn Annals*, resenting the bad government of King Kongmin whose personal concern for his wife, a foreign woman, led to the neglect of the common population fighting their daily problems and concerns. (Yu Hoin 1477 in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 58).

The tomb of T'aejo Wang Kǒn



Figure 43: Tomb of King Wang Kǒn/ T'aejo (943), before reconstruction in 1994

Against all this interest for the tomb of Kongmin, the one of the great Koryŏ progenitor Wang Kǒn was dwarfed. Although it was also looted on 23 December 1906 (*Kojong Sillok* 46:6a) and suffered some damages during the Korean War that were repaired in 1954, it features less prominently until the end of the 1980s. Travel books and other literature on Kaesŏng's cultural heritage focus on the tomb of king Kongmin, leaving the one of Wang Kǒn unmentioned (e.g. Academy of Science 1983). Later Kim Il Sung explains the world's disinterest in Wang Kǒn's tomb compared to other royal tombs through its significantly smaller size and unsightliness (Hi T'aesŏn 2009, 6). Yet most importantly, it lacked catching narratives as these connected to Kongmin's tomb, like the extreme diligence and skill of many workers who built the tomb over seven years 1365-1372 (Ŏm Yŏngch'an 1993, 41-2), the struggle of the local population against the Japanese looters, and the correction of their bad repairs, that could be symbolic and representative for the present aimed ideology of the ruler and his government.

Only when Kim Il Sung initiated a great campaign between 1992-1994 to excavate and restore the tombs of the great dynastic founding fathers, Old-Chosŏn national father Tan'gun,¹³⁰ Koguryŏ founding father Tongmyŏng,¹³¹ and Koryŏ founder Wang Kŏn (Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 147), did the tomb of Wang Kŏn again gain prominence. In a wild mixture of extreme nationalistic narratives and traditional if not reactionary notions of dynastic legitimacy, Wang Kŏn then became the link between the two great progenitors and Kim Il Sung himself. Notably the tomb excavation campaign started in 1992, when the *chuch'e* ideology replaced Marxism-Leninism as official state ideology following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the European socialist bloc. Also the Pyongyang Declaration (entitled 'Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism') was signed by an international group of communists invited on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Kim Il Sung in April 1992 to affirm their commitment to a socialist world.

¹³⁰ Completion of the reconstruction of Tan'gun's tomb was 3 October 1994 (Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 144-5). Two skeleton remains excavated from an earthen tomb with a stone chamber are claimed to be remains of Tan'gun and his wife. It is said that they have been dated by electro spin resonance in 1994 to confirm that Tan'gun lived 5000 years ago and so scientifically proofing the Korean claim of the long standing succession of the Korean nation.

¹³¹ On 14 May 1993 a restoration stele was installed, the so-called 'Tongmyŏngwanglŭng Kaegŏndaeginyŏmbi': golden letters, in the front in *hanja*, backside poem in *hangŭl*, for the inscription text see Ri Ch'ŏl (2005, 146).



Figure 44: Kim Il Sung inspecting the tomb of T'aejo Wang Kŏn, 5 May 1992 (CYIT 1996, 114)

The instructions given by Kim Il Sung during his in situ visit of the tomb (Figure 44) the same year, read symbolical of the political emergency situation and the new direction taken. He lamented the desolate state of the tomb and its surroundings and notes that 'if it would have better taken care of previously, appropriate to Wang Kŏn's virtues, there would be no need to rebuild it, but now he said to renovate it in order to properly venerate its historical significance and keep it for coming generations' (Ri Chaehong 2006, 6).¹³²

He therefore suggested to start with cleaning the tomb area surroundings, rebuild the tomb levels and stairs, and the tomb way.

He also *compassionately* instructed to plant the big cone pine tree from Mount Kŭmsusan Remembrance Hall 錦繡山紀念宮殿, *Kŭmsusan ki'nyŏmgungjŏn*, to T'aejo Wang Kŏn's tomb.¹³³ Mount Kŭmsusan lies in the north-eastern outskirts of Pyongyang. The Remembrance Hall was inaugurated in 1977 for Kim Il Sung's 65th anniversary and after his death became a Kim Il Sung Remembrance Hall. The instruction to plant a pine tree from there at Wang Kŏn's tomb further adds to the symbolical connectivity with Kim's dynasty. Immediately after his instructions, the restoration planning process was initiated.

¹³² The tomb of King T'aejo was destroyed in 1906 and the ritual hall, the *chŏngja'gak* was damaged during the Korean War and thus also repaired along the other war destructions in 1954.

¹³³ Using trees, especially the local cone pine, from powerful scenic sites is a traditional Korean custom based on the concept of geomantic energy. Famous examples from Seoul are the reconstruction of the recently burnt down Sŭnglyemun Gate and the reconstruction of Kwanghwamun Gate. For the restoration of the latter, wood from Mt Paektusan (the place of mythical origin of the Korean nation, today at the border with China in the north of the DPRK) was supposed to be used. However, as the Korean side was barren and trees coming from the Chinese side of Paektusan no option, they decided to use old pine trees from Kanghwa-do island mainly donated from private people (Interview with Park Sŏngjin at Kyŏngbokgung, Seoul, 1 May 2009).

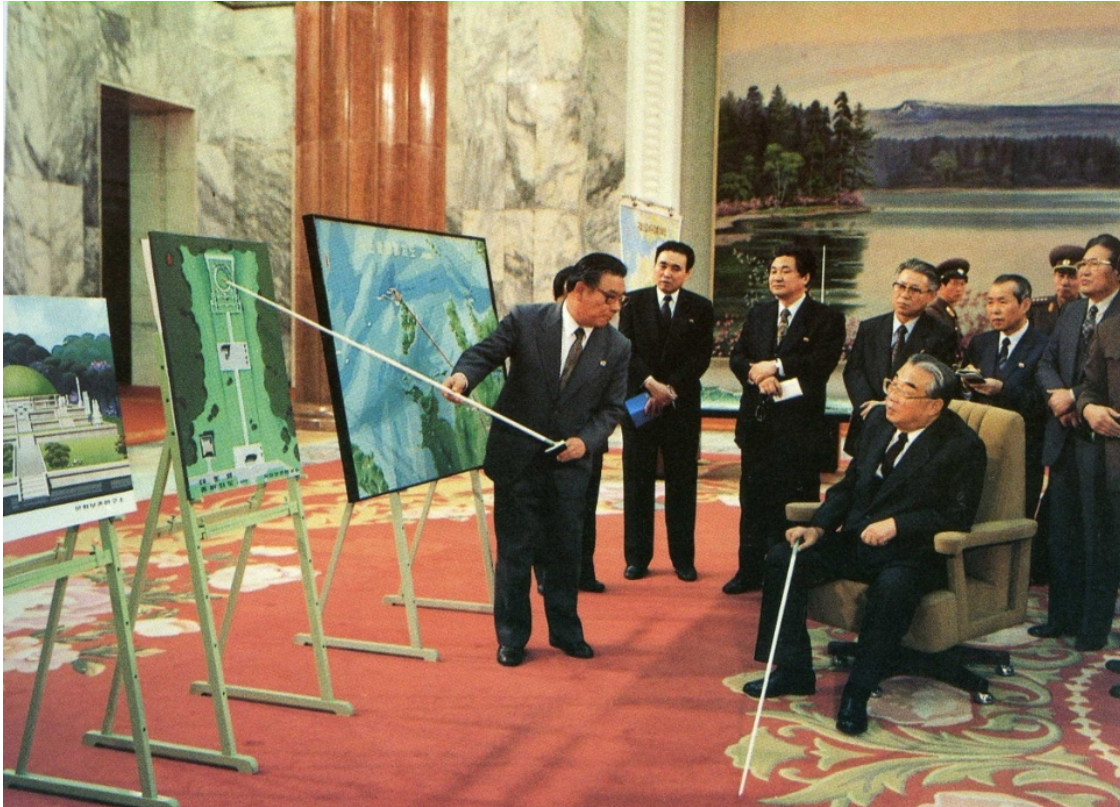


Figure 45: Restoration planning process under the guidance of Kim Il Sung. Blueprint for the reconstruction plan for the tomb of Koryŏ King T'aejo Wang Kŏn, 15 January 1993 (CYYT 1996, 115).

The Institute of Archaeology under the Academy of Social Science conducted a survey in July that was followed by an excavation concluding in 1993 (Kim Inch'öl 2002, 6).¹³⁴ The excavation was followed by a reconstruction (Cho Kyŏngch'öl 1994). Kim added that the adorning tomb figures of scholar and military officials, too, should be carved in size accordingly. As king Tongmyŏng's tomb is the biggest and best executed of all Korean royal tombs, he argued, it should serve as a standard model for the future reconstruction of other royal tombs. In the same breath he instructed that adorning stone sculptures should always be produced in accordance to the principle of historicism, well established in relation to historical documents.

¹³⁴ North Korean research papers on the excavation and reconstruction of the old T'aejo Wang Kŏn tomb seem to be kept divided. For excavation reports see: Academy of Social Science, *Chosŏn Kogo Yŏn'gu* 1993(2):47-49, and Kim Inch'öl 2002.

Other issues addressed that day were among others the questions on how to display the historical relics discovered, and the best scientific restoration of the tomb chamber's wall paintings (Hi T'aesŏn 2009, 6).¹³⁵ The display solution for the zodiac figure stone carvings of the previous outer tomb mound was to place them inside the reconstructed tomb corridor. Notably the newly carved zodiac figures decorating the reconstructed tomb mound all have animal heads instead of just the animal head sat in the hat gear of the human figure (Figure 46).



Figure 46: (above) The tomb corridor flanked with the old zodiac figure stone carvings of the previous tomb mound. (below) New zodiac carvings for the reconstructed tomb mound

¹³⁵ The inner chamber is decorated with fine mural paintings on the surrounding walls on a coating of lime. Images of the blue dragon (*ch'ŏngnyong*) and prunus and bamboo adorn the eastern wall, and a white tiger (*paekho*) and a pine tree are depicted on the western wall. The three trees are admired for their perseverance, and blossoming, under harsh conditions known as the 'Three Friends in Winter' (*sam-u*). The northern wall shows traces of paint that due to the damage of tomb looters cannot be clearly identified (Cho Kyŏngch'ŏl 1994, 18). Kim Ŭnt'aek(1996, 143) suggests that due to the colour, layout and comparison to other tomb paintings the image depicts the black tortoise (*hyŏnmu*), completing the customary symbolic depiction of the four celestial directions, *Sasindo*. The southern wall is unadorned. On the 'three friends', and the mural painting in T'aejo's tomb in particular, see: Chu Chaekŏl 2004. '고려태조왕릉의 벽화와 <3 우>에 대 호여' (About the wall painting and the 'sam-u' of Koryŏ T'aejo's royal tomb), *Minjok Munhwa Yusan*, 2004(2): 18-19.

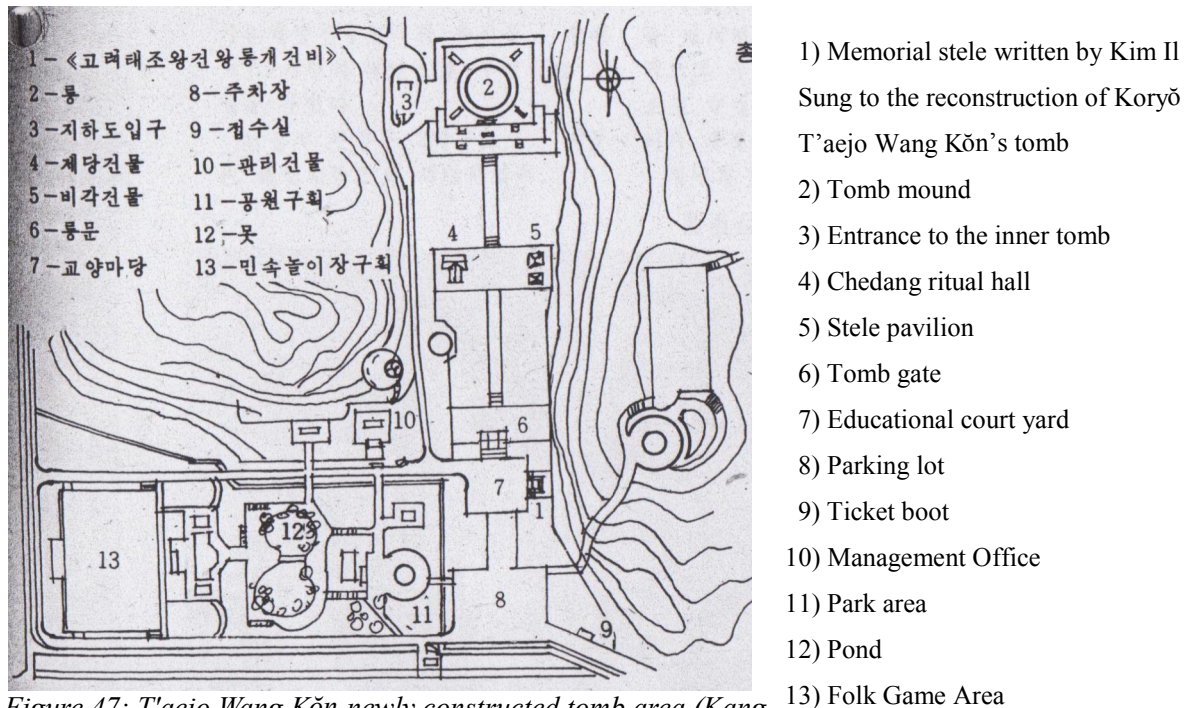


Figure 47: T'aejo Wang Kōn newly constructed tomb area (Kang Samch'ŏn 1996(2):59)

The layout of the restored tomb shows four levels and is decorated with the usual tomb accessories (Figure 47). There is a stone balustrade surrounding the mound, a stone table, stone tigers, stone posts and stone lanterns, four statues of civil officials are positioned to the east of the tomb and another four figures of military officials to the west. All these officials are chosen after historic figures that are honoured for their contribution in establishing the new Koryŏ dynasty and unifying the Korean peninsula under it (Kim Ŭnt'aek 1996, 135). The four civil officials in upward raising order are Ch'oe Ŏnhui, Wang Yu, Ch'oe Chimong and Kim Pu. The four military officials are Yu Kūmp'il, Sin Sunggyŏm, Pae Hyŏn'gyŏng and Tae Kwanghyŏn.

The North Korean reconstruction plan more truthfully reflects the court order system. As subgroups of the aristocratic Yangban-class, the civil and military officials were both involved in governmental affairs. During palace assemblies the officials did arrange around the king according to their respective rank. The civil officials stood to the left, east of the king and were therefore also called *tongban* 東班 (east section), the military officials to the right, the west giving them the name *sŏban* 西班 (west section).¹³⁶ As the tomb represents the afterlife seat of

¹³⁶ Also, among the 18 official ranks divided in 9 *jŏng* and 9 *jong*, only the first five *jŏng* were allowed inside the same room with the king. These again were subdivided in the first three ranks called *tangsan* and below *tangha*.

the king, the arrangement of officials according to their affiliation to the *tongban* and *sōban* in the tomb area compares to the order at court assemblies. Did the North Korean reconstruction attempt to truthfully follow and represent this courtly arrangement system?

The tomb reconstruction brought a notable change to the previous tomb layout and order, where only one pair of scholar officials remained. Archaeologically it is difficult to ascertain a historically truthful common practice of the arrangement of the military and civil official tomb figures, as there are no intact remaining comparative examples with the exception of the late Koryŏ tomb of King Kongmin. Famous for its peculiar design, the tomb layout of King Kongmin, rather than being divided to the eastern and western side as in the reconstruction of the tomb of King Wang Kŏn, has the figures of officials stand one platform above the military officials, a possible indicator of the civil officials' higher importance.¹³⁷ Did the North Korean reconstruction thus just try to enhance the status of the military vice versa the civil officials? At least such a move would make sense in regard to the raising importance of the military in the contemporary DPRK politics. Surely though does the reconstruction of the tomb, its layout and choice of historical figures promote the virtues of founding a unified Korean kingdom, echoing the significance given to Koryŏ and King Wang Kŏn by Kim Il Sung.

On 31st January 1994 there was the much anticipated restoration open ceremony of the heavily rebuilt tomb that aimed to give it the 'adequate grandeur'.¹³⁸ A guidebook states that the 'Tomb diameter after reconstruction is 19m, originally it was 12m: original tomb guardian figures are now in Kaesŏng Museum, because they were too small for a tomb of such importance'.¹³⁹ Like King Kojong before him, Kim Il Sung had a stele installed in front of the tomb in memory of the renovation. At the last stage of the reconstruction process, on 30 August 1993, Kim Il Sung came again to visit the tomb and oversee the installation of the 48 tons heavy and 6.08 m high reconstruction memorial stele. On the front it says in Chinese calligraphy 'Monument to the Renovation of the Tomb of King Wang Kŏn, Founder of Koryŏ'

¹³⁷ However, Bacon states that during the Chosŏn period, sculptures of military officials were only allowed at royal tombs, whereas civil officials could also be used at the graves of members of the aristocracy. See: Wilbur Bacon 1957, 'Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens', *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 33: 6.

¹³⁸ See: Kang Sam-ch'ŏn 1996. 'Koryŏ T'aejo Wang Kŏnlŭng-ŭi kŏnch'uk Hyŏngsŏng-yae taehayŏ', *Chosŏn kŏnch'uk* 1996(2): 58-61. On 31 March 1996 the Dear General Kim Jong Il came on request of the leader to visit the completed extension of the tomb, with the newly installed restoration stele with Kim Il Sung's writing, stone sculptures, *pigak* pavilion and *chaedang* ritual hall.

¹³⁹ McKillop, Portal and Anderson 2004. Visits to North Korea, 2001-2: Building Cultural Links, in *North Korean Culture and Society*, The British Museum Research Publication Number 151, 53. For a more detailed description of the reconstruction work and its layout see: Kim Ŭnt'aek 1996.

[*Koryŏ T'aejo Wang Kŏn wangnŭng kaegonpi*] in golden letters. Its back is inscribed with a 'donation poem', *hŏnsi* 獻詩, personally written by Kim Il Sung in celebration of Wang Kŏn's 1117th birth anniversary and dated to 5 May 1993, notably not in honour of the founder 1050th death anniversary. Allegedly the five-verse poem was inspired by receiving the report of the finished tomb renovation (Kim Inch'ŏl 2003, 5). The poem's content again emphasises the link between the past and the present in service for the future. Whereas the first three verses focus on Kim Il Sung, the physical efforts he put in place to visit the tomb, his wisdom and patriotism that make him realise and teach the importance of the tomb, the last two highlight the Koryŏ 'grand achievement of unification' as an exemplary quality of the national ancestors followed by the Workers Party to lead into a bright future.

Since, the importance of these three founding fathers and their kingdoms has been emphasised by North Korean scholars for their exemplary achievements and pillars of Korean patriotic, national history. The article '*The reconstruction of Wang Kŏn tomb under the outstretched hand of the great sun [Kim Il Sung]*' (Ri Chaehong 2006) elaborates the virtues of these three kingdoms. 'Old-Chosŏn was our country's first dynasty, Koguryŏ was the greatest power in the East for thousand years, and the first unified kingdom was achieved under Wang Kŏn of the Koryŏ dynasty' (cf. to the argument of the first unified Korean kingdom between the two Korean governments discussed in section II.I.iii). In the article Ri explains further that it is this national historiography that has to be developed after eliminating the one of past foreign aggressors. The three virtues [previously neglected by foreign historiography] are the Korean national origin in a distant past, state power that dominates the whole region, and unification of the nation, all of them also consolidated in archaeological research and historiography. Historical research particularly emphasises the inheritance of traditions and values from Koguryŏ that were taken up in Koryŏ. This starts with the choice of Koryŏ as a dynastic name that is an abbreviated form of Koguryŏ and is also reflected in the legacy of building styles of tombs (An Sŏnggyu 2001, 30-32).

In a very traditional way Kim Il Sung rows himself in the long line of Korean progenitors utilising the three pillars described by Chu Hsi upon which social and therefore political stability rest. The line of descent, head of descent group and the veneration of its culture are all three strategies to stabilise rather than change politics and society. Kim Il Sung is presented as

the legitimate successor to the three Korean progenitors, who is repeating the three significant national development steps of the past in chronological order. One might be tempted to interpret that Kim Il Sung, after having shown his success in establishing the historiography of a long homogenous national line starting from Tan'gun, and consolidating Korean regional power following the past example of Tongmyŏng, now is ready for the next development step of unifying the nation like T'aejo Wang Kŏn before him. Appropriated to the socialist totalitarian state, the pride and strength giving ancestors are a driving force equally for validity and personal endeavours in service of the nation.

The following news story by the North Korean Central News Agency (KCNA 1997.06.11) symbolically encourages this interpretation. It reports how President Kim Il Sung, aged 80, was walking in the Kaesŏng area and approaching the tomb of Wang Kŏn on 5 May 1992 by chance. Looking at the desolate state of the Koryŏ dynastic founder's tomb, he had his 'heart ache' (Ri Chaehong 2006).¹⁴⁰ After examining the tomb with interest

He taught that the tomb must be confirmed and rebuilt [...] to glorify the history of the nation.¹⁴¹ Thereupon an old man called on a senior official with a box containing valuables and asked him to convey it to the President. Contained in it was a royal seal used by Wang Kŏn and the genealogical records of his family clan. As the Yi [Chosŏn royal family name] dynasty killed the Wang [Koryŏ royal] family members, one of them fled to a mountain village with the royal seal and the genealogical records [see Chapter III.I.vi].¹⁴² Since then, 600 years had passed. The descendants of the founder of Koryŏ had preserved the royal seal and the genealogical records as a family treasure,

¹⁴⁰ Ri also gives further details on reconstruction process, probably as a cultural tourism enforcement programme, as it was also linked to Mt. Kuwŏl-san resort management.

¹⁴¹ The Collection of Kim Il Sung's work, 김일성저작집, 44 권, p 52, published the instruction of the tomb to be renovated under the title '고려태조왕릉을 개건하여야 하겠습니다'.

¹⁴² After allegations in 1394 that some members of the Wang clan were planning a revolt, Yi Sŏnggye responded by ordering the indiscriminate homicide of all the men of the Wang clan, banning the Wang family name and forcing people to take over the name of their maternal line. Four months after the massacre, King T'aejo (Yi Sŏnggye) had three copies of the Lotus Sutra made that were to be recited for the sake of the well-being of the deceased Wangs. In addition, he established a tradition of state-sponsored memorial services for their souls through performance of the Ritual of Water and Land. Kwŏn Kŭn ('Suryuk ūmun pal', in *Yangch'on-jip* 22: 3b-4b, [Yŏng'in p'yojŏm] *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* vol. 7, 221b-221d) wrote many liturgical petitions for different performances on behalf of King T'aejo, in which the king offered his apologies for the massacre, and repeatedly emphasized that the foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty was Heaven's Commandment, which had been bestowed upon him as a response to the will of the people (Choi Mihwa 2009, 190; *T'aejo sillok* 5: 19b [1394/4/26]). Choi points out that this demonstrated compunction was driven by his concern for the survival and prosperity of his new dynasty. As the the condemned souls without descendants were commonly believed to cause harm to the living, they needed to be satisfied.

reluctant to tell the origin of their family to others. They were happy to hear that the President visited the tomb of Wang Kǒn and thanked him. The old man of the Wang family said: Indeed, our Leader is the sun. *Should Wang Kǒn rise again, he would hand the royal seal to the peerlessly great man* ¹⁴³ (emphasis added).



Figure 48: Panel inscribed 'Society for the love (appreciation) of founding father Rhee Syngman'

The power of self-representation by recalling and claiming the past is nothing other than political power itself (Chatterjee 1995, 229). Precisely because the propagation of the state's ideology and personal cult around Kim Il Sung is resonate of the nation's traditional values, practices and cultural heritage already in place since centuries; it has reached as much power as a convincing narrative. In addition, this firmly established reference to Kim Il Sung as father, is equalled to the commonly known idea of the nation's founding father, *kǒn 'guk aboji*, of a new Korea after liberation in 1945.

Equally in South Korea, Rhee Syngman, the first president of the ROK may be referred to as *kǒn 'guk aboji*, especially by his supporters.¹⁴⁴ The divide over his politics and ruling methods in contemporary ROK keeps being discussed in the media (cf. Chapter III.II.ii, footnote 156). Here, apart from the need for adequate memorials commemorating the foundation and the founder of the state, the argument reaches added urgency in comparison and competition to the high profile of the DPRK's founding father Kim Il Sung.

The competition and comparison of the state founding fathers is also vividly described in a more recent article on the time after the Korean War. After the territorial win of Kaesŏng in 1952 and the Armistice signed on 27 July 1953, Kaesŏng has officially been under DPRK control. Then, despite all the other pressing issues,

¹⁴³ Kim Il Song is often referred to as the sun, *t'aeyang*. www.kcna.co.jp/item/1997/9706/news6/11.htm (accessed 10 January 2006), see also the title of Ri Chaehong's article 2006.

¹⁴⁴ See e.g. the webpage of the *Society for the memory of founding president Dr Rhee Syngman* www.syngmanrhee.or.kr

Kim Il Sung bestowed his benevolence on the newly liberated town Kaesŏng that had a tragic role and position in the war and consequently suffered extremely. Under the 3-step 'Post-war Homeland Restoration plan' announced in August 1953,¹⁴⁵ he also shows his *love and care* towards Kaesŏng's cultural remains. [... This information is set into a sharp contrast to the] arrogant aggression and misconduct of the previously ruling southern Korean government under the US American puppet president Rhee Syngman, who did not show any concern about Kaesŏng's neglect and destruction.' (Academy of Social Science 1991, 213).

The narrative continues with Kim Il Sung, who particularly concerned about Kaesŏng and its citizens, dispatched a delegation to Kaesŏng in August 1953 (and went to Kaesŏng personally in December 1954) in order to report on their life circumstances and equally on the state of the town's cultural heritage. As other cities, Kaesŏng suffered a great deal under the 'random bombings of the US. Especially it mourns the grave damage of the Koryŏ royal palace site'. The following glorifying description of the Koryŏ founding king Wang Kŏn, who after a 'constant and long struggle managed to unify the kingdoms through his great power, and who succeeded the incompetent and rotten reign of Kungye' (Academy of Social Science 1991, 214), quite obviously serves as an historical example and comparison to the present political protagonists in North and South Korea. Because during the southern 'oppressive tyranny the Americans built an infirmary on the ground of the royal palace site without any consideration to its historical value and provoked the outrage of the Kaesŏng people. One elderly even threw himself in front of a bulldozer pushing through the ancient site' (Academy of Social Science 1991, 215). At the same time possible ideological criticism to be servile to feudal thoughts is anticipated, as the text explains how despite being built for the feudal Koryŏ ruler, the sacrifice of many skilled people doing forced labour should be respected and are proof of their great talent.¹⁴⁶ Aware of its value, Kim Il Sung instructed the restoration of the Manwŏltae palace site, while much of the country was still lying in ashes. Allegedly this news surprised and moved the Kaesŏng citizens deeply.

¹⁴⁵ http://www.ournation-school.com/Radio_lecture/h1-59/h1-59.htm

¹⁴⁶ This line of argumentation has been repeated several times. Already on his visit on 22 August 1968 Kim Jong Il praised Kaesŏng's historical importance despite being primarily a site of medieval and feudal Koryŏ dynastic cultural remains (Kim Jong Il 2006, 66). In his call for their careful preservation, he mentioned for instance, the inherent Korean 'characteristic virtues' of loyalty, creative craftsmanship and scholarship, powerful statesmanship and unification.

Still influenced by the American and South Korean anti-communist propaganda, the Kaesŏng citizens thought that communists disregard their ancestors, nation and things from the past, dismissing all as feudal. Unbelievable that the army only known for their fighting should restore the ancient palace site! Such unusual regard for the site has not been seen since the Chosŏn period, through the Japanese Colonisation or after Liberation. *Kim Il Sung's patriotic love for the people, the country and its heritage is unequalled in the world!* (Academy of Social Science 1991, 217 emphasis added)

III.II POLITICS OF EMOTION

The grand reconstruction project of the three grand tombs, all completed in 1994, reads like a legacy with Kim Il Sung's death from an heart attack on 8 July, 1994. Just before his death, on 8 April 1994, a cultural policy law had been declared, the 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea's Cultural Remain Preservation Law' (조선민주주의 인민공화국 문화유물보호법).¹⁴⁷ Im Ch'aeuk (1995, 221) contends that the new finds from 1993 (results published on 2 October) provoked the preservation law as signalised with the clause of the Supreme People's Assembly (*Ch'oego Inmin Hoeŭi*) 'On the need to improve and strengthen the work on inheriting and developing national cultural heritage'. Kim's stewardship and protection of the ancestral grounds was to become symbolic for his political legacy. As Beth McKillop (2004, 11) already wrote the 'three tombs are as much part of the modern environment as of the past, and their place as icons of North Korean history was politically determined.' Since the beginning of the 1990s external and internal instability was caused by the unprecedented fall of communism in Eastern Europe, and droughts and resulting famines as well as the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994. In light of the economical and political difficulties North Korea was facing, this heightened investment in cultural productions like publications, restorations and policies might at first appear surprising. Yet concentrating the political power on symbolic expressions and visible markers (national and internationally) was a means and expression of social control. The sense of crisis faced was instrumented to reinforce people's state identity through historical narratives of pride and solidify the political viability of the state, particular tied by emotions. These emotional narratives were not mere inventions out of a cultural vacuum, but arose from a matrix of traditions that suitable to embody patriotic sentiments. So are the praising descriptions of the nation founder and leader Kim Il Song strongly reminiscent of the idea of a national hero by the nationalist Sin Ch'aeho (申采浩 1880-1936), probably the most famous and equally venerated in North and South Korea. As Vladimir Tikhonov (2008, 106) already pointed out, Sin's vision of a 'heroic leader of the nation' is a patriotic adaptation of the Confucian exemplary sage as a godly superior being with

¹⁴⁷ A month earlier the law was already decided for (1994.03.24: 'DPRK munhwa yumul bohobŏp, ch'ŏgoinminhui ŏngsŏlhoi kyŏlch'ŏng ch'e 46 ho-ro ch'aet'ak). The ROK North Korean Law Research Organisation published a comparison of this DPRK law to the ROK equivalent in 1997 (P'ukhanbŏpyŏn'guhoe 1997. 'b'okhanui 「문화유물보호법」 남한의 「문화재보호법」 과 관련하여', 1: 60 -70.).

an ability to dominate ‘whole states, and to whom everybody in the whole world tend to gravitate, just as [...] towards the sun’ (Sin 1908 in Tikhonov 2008, 112) that anticipated the North Korean concept of a national leader.

III.II.I *FAMILY TIES*

After his father's death Kim Jong Il visited and inspected the extension of the tomb on 31 March 1996, 'despite his busy schedule'. There he is asking the citizens for a good protection of the tomb in the future. As his father, Kim Jong Il is emphasizing 'Wang Kōn's significance in the row of the great three founding kings, Tan'gun and Tongmyōng, all the root of the proud Korean nation' (Ri Chaehong 2006, 7). Yet, in contrast to the 1970s enhanced emphasis of socialist realism, a dominant emotional argumentation for cultural work and preservation is added.¹⁴⁸ Kim Jong Il continues praising the superior character of his father, the Great Leader, too.

Comrade Kim Il Sung is a leader whose gifted thought and outstanding leadership compares to no one else in this world. And no one can compare to his noble innate virtue with which he embraces the people in his bosom wide like the sky.

(Kim Jong Il cited in Kim Siho 2002, 9)

The following year, 1997, the archaeological journal *Chosŏn Kogo Yŏn'gu* (*Korean Archaeology Research*) features in all four editions of the year a front article that aim to summarise the achievements and commitments of the Great Leader and the Dear General for the archaeology. The series starts and ends with the articles about Kim Jong Il, the ones having Kim Il Sung as topic are in between, commemorating in the spring edition his birthday and in the summer one his death. Accordingly the latter ones are much more emotional, although the content of all four papers is nearly identical. The papers having Kim Jong Il as topic seem harder to try and legitimise his rule with statements as 'the eternal Leader Kim Jong Il was already aware of the overall condition as early as the beginning of the 1960s and wisely clarified the several controversial problems prevalent in those days' (Han 1997: 1, 3).

While repeating actions and reemphasising thoughts expressed by Kim Il Sung are obviously trying to prove an affinity to his father and his role as his legitimate and able successor, Kim

¹⁴⁸ Despite the increased study of the role emotions play in politics (Marcus et al. 2000, Crawford 2000, Falgar 1997, Wallace 1993), the employed tactic of interaction between reason and emotion in North Korean politics has still not lost its label of obscurity.

Jong Il also brought a revised Preservation Law in 1999.¹⁴⁹ Its content was explained in a series in the journal *National Culture Heritage* (Hwang 2002, 6-7), a quarterly magazine specialized in the conservation issues and public awareness building newly issued under the Korean Cultural Preservation Center (KCPC) in 2002.¹⁵⁰ The revision of the law also resulted in a few articles on excavation practice and method (Ryöm Munyŏng 2002, 55, and a chapter on practical preservation methods in the DPRK divided in methods for buildings, fortress walls, tombs and sculptures: ‘Historical cultural remains protection method’ in Ri Ch’öl 2005, 254-270).

Another type of praise for Kim Jong Il’s exemplary and wise cultural policy was expressed in the journal *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* (*National Cultural Heritage*) (2003:4, 12). Here the article quotes words of praise expressed at a joint Korean scholarly meeting in North Korea coming from an unnamed South Korean professor from Seoul National University, known as one if not the top university in Korea. The complaisant remarks comprised the well-executed restoration (true to national architectonic characteristics) of the tombs of Tan’gun and Tongmyŏng, as well as the national spirit, excellent traditions and culture kept alive in Pyongyang that reflect a long past, a blossoming present and shining future. This judgement lead to the article’s conclusion that *Kim Jong Il is the one who most loves our nation’s traditions. If there would be people like him in parliament the nation could achieve independence, unity and unification.*

As Myers (2010) points out in his book *The Cleanest Race*, Kim Il Sung is not only propagated as the legitimate, virtuous and ideal ruler, but primarily referred to and depicted as Parent Leader (*ŏbŏi suryŏng*) under whose loving affection and benevolent guidance the people are growing and blossoming. The strong emotional narrative and titling are particularly obvious in use after of Kim Il Sung’s death in 1994.

The people are depicted in a child-like role towards their ‘father’, and historians and archaeologists are no exception. Published in a heritage journal, obviously addressed at the specialist audience, the author states:

¹⁴⁹ 1999.01.21: DPRK munhwa yumul bohobŏp, 최고인민회의 상임위원회 정령 제 372 호로 수정

¹⁵⁰ Notably in the time of international cultural recognition and distinction the term *minjok*, national, is added to the journal’s title as compared to the early 1950s edition of *Munhwa yusan*.

There is clear evidence of virtuous lives of historians who actively contributed to bring up many people with a good sense of *chuch'e* and bring our fatherland's ancient history and proud culture to blossom under the benevolent embrace of the Great Leader and Dear General. (Kim Siho 2002, 9)

One such virtuous historian was the leading DPRK archaeologists Ch'ae Hŭiguk.¹⁵¹ Taking him as an example, Kim Siho (2002) illustrates the metaphor of 'family' or bloodline relationship that is co-joined with the state-employee relationship. The title *The Parental Leader and the archaeologist- A story about the benevolent affection bestowed on the late Prof. Dr. Ch'ae Hŭiguk, distinguished head-lecturer at the History Faculty of Kim Il Sung University* is already telling for the special bond between the state leader and heritage professional practicing under him. The paper appeared under the 2002 serial section 'At the bosom of the Great [Leader]' of the heritage journal *Minjok Munhwa Yusan*. Professor Ch'ae was in charge of and greatly involved in the excavation and reconstruction of all three tombs of the Korean progenitors. After Korean Liberation in 1945 he was still teaching at various universities in Seoul, but after the Korean War he was freed of his 'miserable destiny of unstable employment and rejections' and offered a leading post at Kim Il Sung University. 'At the bosom of the Great Leader he regained his happiness and devoted himself to teaching and archaeological research' (Kim Siho 2002, 10). His specialist area was the Koguryŏ period and he became known for his early excavations of Koguryŏ sites at Pyongyang's Mount Taesŏng-san, that include the ancient palace site, tombs, and the fortress, beginning in April 1958.

Less an authoritarian relationship, the bond between the Leader and the archaeologist is depicted as one of familiar intimacy and emotions.¹⁵² On the part of Kim Il Sung it is affectionate and respectful action towards the old and deserved man. 'In the early years Kim Il Sung bestowed great trust and belief in the work and opinion of an ordinary person like the

¹⁵¹ Ch'ae Hŭiguk (蔡熙國 1918-1996) was born in Ch'ungch'ŏngbuk-do province and studied history at Keijō Imperial University (Seoul National University). Already before graduation he was conscripted to work in a mine until the end of World War II and Korean liberation. Then he taught at Chŏngju Middle school, Hongik University and Seoul National University. After the beginning of the Korean War, in September 1950, he started teaching in Pyongyang at Kim Il Sung University as head of the history department. Ch'ae became known for his excavations on the Koguryŏ period (particularly in Nampo in 1957, Mount Taesŏng-san 1958-1970, and the tomb of king Tongmyŏng and its precincts 1974-1976). He was awarded many honours, for instance the 'Kim Il Sung prize' that he received at an inspection of the Tongmyŏng tomb in 1991, and the 'First level State medal', his last honour was to be buried on the Patriotic Cemetery (Korean History Research Group 2003, 277).

¹⁵² Compare also to the slightly earlier articles of Han Inho (1997) and Kim Hyesuk (1997), who are describing the relationship of Kim Il Sung and the archaeologist in the otherwise rather formalistic and general text by using many emotional terms like caring, loving, tears, warm heart etc.

archaeologist Ch'ae' (Kim Siho 2002, 10). One chapter of the article is titled 'From the very heart looking after one's relatives' and tells of the elder Ch'ae, who to his astonishment and awe was picked up from his home by a car for a meeting with Kim Il Sung in April 1989. During this meeting Kim Il Sung realises the bad pronunciation of the elderly scholar and so ordered some workers to take care that his teeth are to be replaced (Kim 2002, 11). In June they met again at the excavation site and Kim Il Sung was so pleased to hear that Ch'ae Hŭiguk's new teeth are a success that he took his hands. He instructed that the health of elderly scholars' should be well taken care of, because 'without historians like Ch'ae we cannot discover and built our country's history. Therefore things like teeth, eyes, ears of our scholars shall always be well taken care of to avoid trivial discomfort at their work and daily life' (Kim Siho 2002, 11). The final sentence of the article summarises the concept that the people, and historians who contribute to the glory of their country, were grown and their skills developed under the care of the leaders. And Kim Il Sung's Korea is thus a more than adequate, a portly successor to the previous Korean kingdoms.

Under the wise leadership of great¹⁵³ comrade Kim Jong Il are those [intellectuals] who actively serve with knowledge the construction of the revolution and of a powerful country. There are many historians and scientists who received ability and work results thanks to the Dear General [Kim Jong Il] who from the bottom of the heart bears in mind the injunctions of the [deceased ancestor] Parent Leader [Kim Il Sung] and is devoted with all loyalty's ardour. Under the General the flower garden of national cultural remains preservation is unfolding and rising to full bloom enlightening our fatherland's ancient history and proud culture and becoming the pride of the entire world that illuminates Kim Il Sung's Chosŏn [Korea] (Kim Siho 2002, 12).

¹⁵³ 'Great', *uidaehan*, is generally reserved as a descriptive of the 'Great' Leader Kim Il Sung. After his death it sometimes appears as a descriptive for Kim Jong Il, but never if both are mentioned in one phrase. Then Jong Il is referred to as 'dear' general, *kyŏngaehan changgunnim*.

Authenticity, The shell or the soul?

Here the link between glorious culture and political legitimacy is made explicit. The model research and preservation of prided culture is an organ to propagate and spread the glory of a Korea under the leadership of Kim Il Sung to the world.

Contrary to the North Korean understanding, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in Quebec, Canada (July 2008) the World Heritage nomination of the Historic Monuments and Sites in Kaesŏng regarded the gigantesque rebuilding of the T'aejo Wang Kŏn tomb and its compound as a degradation of the tomb's historical value lacking authenticity (UNESCO 2008).

The same year the grand reconstruction of Wang Kŏn's tomb was completed, ICOMOS declared his statement on authenticity. 'Authenticity is those characteristics that most truthfully reflect and embody the cultural heritage values of a place' (ICOMOS 1994). What is authenticity and who decides which characteristics are the most truthful? The highly subjective judgement and treatment of heritage was already anticipated in 1985 by David Lowenthal who wrote in his influential and manifold cited book *The Past is a foreign country* that '[...] the pasts we alter or invent are as prevalent and consequential as those we try to preserve. Indeed, a heritage wholly saved or authentically reproduced is no less transformed than one deliberately manipulated.' (Lowenthal 1985, xviii)



Figure 49: World Cultural Heritage designation marker of the reconstructed tomb of King Tongmyŏng (*Minjok munhwa yusan* 2008, 35)

Latest since the Nara Document on Authenticity, the western concept of authenticity has become familiar with diverse ideas of authenticity. Predominately in East Asian countries authenticity may also be credited to cultural activities that add meaning by traditionally destroying and rebuilding material structures. Irrespective the true motivations behind the

repairs and reconstruction of the tomb, they behold the traditional thought of respect for a venerated person. Still far from receiving an international designation and *becoming the pride of the entire world that illuminates Kim Il Sung's Korea*, a look at the inherent traditions of tomb preservation, especially of high ranking deceased, might give a deeper insight in the role of safeguarding tombs, not only for purely memorial purposes, but to refer and claim the inheritance of legitimacy.

Precisely because cultural heritage is given the strong role as a didactic tool for the present, compared to Western ideas of authenticity and cultural heritage value, it may appear in its material form less authentic. However, in its lived and engaging evaluation it might be much more authentic an expression of lived cultural traditions. The much liked distinction of material and immaterial heritage by western and international heritage institutions still has not really come to terms with these immaterial inheritances of material heritage. Sadly on the opposite, the widening globalisation of the heritage world and the Korean national quest for high rankings within, let to the introduction of the untraditional distinction and the terminology use of material and immaterial heritage in South and North Korea.

In an attempt to link ancient rulers and past glorious achievements to the current regime, the state authority appropriates historical personalities and sites. As described above, the tactic to highlight Kim Il Sung's exemplary conduct and qualities as a benevolent leader has been to personalise historiography that builds an emotional connection between the common people and Kim Il Sung and thus also is to enhance patriotism. The personality cult in the DPRK makes particular use of this practice combining it with an emotional, personality bound historiography, where the simulation of feeling has become increasingly enhanced. In such a society, it can be argued that the management of citizens' emotional reactions has become one of the key strategic objectives of what has been called the modernised political party (Swanson and Mancini, 1996).

As early as 1955 the personality cult in the DPRK was negatively noted by the USSR on Kim's visit to Moscow and came again to the fore after Khrushchev denounced the Stalin personality cult in February 1956. Following the internal party struggle, the so-called 'Crisis of August 1956, and some purges, Kim Jong Il had the task to cleanse the party of disloyal subjects and to promote the teachings and personal cult around Kim Il Sung.

By 1970 the personality cult would reach unprecedented dimensions with the appointment of Kim Jong Il as director of the Culture and Art Department of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) Secretariat. The same year he talked about the 'proper evaluation and treatment of cultural heritage' (1970.03.04), one of his immediate actions was a stronger idolisation of his father Kim Il Sung. This idolisation also took over the cultural scholarship that included more citations and references to his teachings. With the declaration of a new constitution on 27 December 1972, Kim Il Sung's self-reliance philosophy *Chuch'e* became the official ideology for all fields of study, also for the cultural field.¹⁵⁴ Articles 35-48 are concerned about culture in its widest sense. Article 37 promoted

The continuation and development according to Socialist Realism and building revolutionary culture. Through the construction of socialist national culture the state

¹⁵⁴ In 1977, *Chuch'e* officially replaced Marxist-Leninism in the constitution as the guiding philosophy underpinning the North's exclusive form of communism.

battles against the influence of imperialistic culture and restoration tendencies and continues to follow its inheritance, safeguarding the national cultural heritage in accordance to socialist realism.

Based on this new *Chuch'e* model of national history *Chosŏn Chonsa* (The Complete History of Korea) was published in 33 volumes in 1979-1982. In the same period, the two North Korean authors of the 1980 UNESCO publication on Cultural Policy in the DPRK emphasize the link between state and culture:

Today, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is enthusiastically continuing and developing the splendid cultural traditions created thousands of years ago. Literature and the arts are flourishing, sustained by the government's *juche* principles. [...] Each province has its own historical museum. The museums are centres of propaganda in favour of the national cultural heritage. [...] Artists] have striven to present a true picture of reality, throwing light on the corruption and the reactionary essence of the exploiting classes and demonstrating the superiority of our country's socialist regime.

(Chai & Hyon 1980: 12, 17 and 21)



Figure 50: Kim Il Sung bronze cast statue on top of Cha'nam-san in Kaesŏng (Kim and Han 2004, 3)



Figure 51: 'Protecting the national flag' from 1985 depicts a visit in one of the DPRK's Korea Revolution Museums
http://lenta.ru/photo/2010/12/17/korea/pic021_Jpg.htm

The cultural policies and research approaches laid down in this period have continued to be followed until today (Kim Kyŏngsuk 2009, 9). Occasional remarks on cultural heritage policy and practices appeared, like Kim Il Sung's teachings, 'Strengthening the cultural relic preservation system!' (1985.07.11), 'About the importance of good excavation and reconstruction of historical remains and relics' (1987.06.07) and 'About the important task to correctly develop the continuation of national cultural heritage' (1993.12.10).

For instance was culture to promote communist reality and idealise Kim Il Sung through historic remains with revolutionary symbolism. Starting from the 1970s patriotism developed in an ever stronger argument in restoration and preservation of cultural heritage, development of patriotic spirit, self-respect *chabusim* and pride. All regions received designated 'Korean revolution museums' and sites, and were embellished with statues of Kim Il Sung. In the very centre of Kaesŏng for instance, a huge bronze cast standing figure of Kim Il Sung was installed on top of the central mount Cha'nam-san¹⁵⁵ overlooking the town, the previous site of a Shinto shrine built under the Japanese Colonial powers (Pak Chongjin 2006, 210) (Figure 50). Hong Yŏngŭi (2006, 194) compares this practice to the very similar one in South Korea, where the

¹⁵⁵ Mount Cha'nam-san's central position makes it a quite important mount despite its small size (104m high on a 6km radius). Since the middle Chosŏn period its shape has been likened as a smaller version to the one of the capital-symbolic mount Songak-san who was referred to as the mother. Hence the naming *cha'nam-san* 子男山, 'son-mountain' (IPA 2003, 251).

statue of its first president Rhee Syngman was installed in 1956 on site of the Japanese shrine on top of Seoul's mount Namsan.¹⁵⁶ Nowadays people go to the Kim Il Sung statue to pay their respect and take memory pictures.

Since these times citations of thematically suitable sayings and instructions of one of the both Kims, no matter how generalized, were linked to the cultural heritage objects. These always enlarged and emphasised bits of writing can be equally found on-site monument sign boards, in general news magazines, as well as in scholarly articles. The emotional omnipresence of Kim Il Sung is thus also a physical one.

¹⁵⁶ This statue was torn down only four years later amidst people protests against Rhee Syngman following the brutal break down of pro-democracy demonstrations on 19 April 1960 during which 224 students were shot, an event infamously known as '4.19' (cf. section II.I.ii). In his place the statue of the independence fighter An Chunggün was installed in 1974. The story and fate of the Rhee Syngman statue is interesting in its own right as its head and the upper body of another Rhee statue previously placed in Seoul's Pagoda Park were sold in 1970 by a scrap metal merchant to Kim Chuhong, a former member of the Trade Union and Liberal Party, *Chayutang*. Since then they remain in a private yard in Seoul. Recent news report about the negotiations of the Rhee family trying to purchase these relics (Kim Yŏnjŏng, *Yonhap News* 2010.04.18).

Caring to care

This physical and emotional omnipresence is of course not a new invention. Since long rulers were aware of the importance to control and inspect the condition of their country, as well as to show their care for the people. Touring and inspecting the kingdom (*sunhaeng* 巡幸) and its sites or *haengch'a* and *haenghaeng* 行幸 is a traditional theme that has been used since the past. Already the *Koryŏsa* documents how King T'aejo Wang Kŏn used to tour the country, observe the customs of the people and correct what was wrong (*Koryŏsa* 71:34a).¹⁵⁷ Even more importantly, the royal tours served as a political barometer and aimed at keeping the country together, particularly in the advent of calamities. Startled by the negative prediction of a royal astronomer about the signs of a tragedy, King Ŭijong (r. 1127-1146; 1170-1173) asked the opinion of a second one who advised that 'the duration of the undertaking of the state and the length of the life of the ruler only depend on the fervour of prayer and the number of royal tours' (Breuker 2006, 183, translation of *Koryŏsa chŏryo* 11: 20a). On a royal tour King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-94) issued an edict in which he referred back to historical examples of Chinese emperors that show the benefits of royal touring. 'Now I have followed the distant examples of the past and have come here.'¹⁵⁸ In order to ensure political stability against the dangers of internal unrest (factional strives) or external threats, the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people is indispensable. The local heritage sites are used to visibly and openly connect the people to the ruler (cf. section V.II.ii).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Sin Hyŏngsik 1981. *A Study on Kings of the Three Kingdoms in view of their Royal Tours* (Sunhaeng-ŭl t'onghaebon samguk sidae-ŭi wang 巡幸을 통해 본 三國時代의 王), Seoul: Iljisa.

Remco Breuker (2006, 184, n. 50) lists a good amount of examples from the *Koryŏsa* and the *Koryŏsa chŏryo* that contain elaborate instructions and descriptions of the clothes of the ruler during his tours, his entourage and so forth (*Koryŏsa* 72:32a-37b; *Koryŏsa* 72: 46b-48a), as well as of other rulers that toured the country (*Koryŏsa* 4:9a; 4: 14a; 7:7b; 9:1a; 9:16b;9:35a; 20:13b; 11:28b; 11:35b; 13:3b; 14:11a; 14:12b-13a; 15:22a; 19:2b; 28:44a; 30:39b; *Koryŏsa chŏryo* 3:55a; 5:40b; 5:41a-b; 7:16a-b; 7:21a; 8:30a; 10:14b-15a; 11: 20a; 11:46a-b; *Tong munsŏn* 43: 10b-12b; 104:8b-10a. Further he refers to a study on touring the southern capital (Kyŏngju) during the Koryŏ period: Ch'oe Hyesuk 1998. Koryŏ period tours to Namgyŏng (Koryŏ sidae Namgyŏng sunhaeng 高麗時代 南京巡幸), *Hyangt'o seoul*, 58: 5-44.

¹⁵⁸ *Koryŏsa* 3: 19b. Translation borrowed from Breuker 2006, 183.

¹⁵⁹ Breuker (2006, 184) refers to an article by Chin Yŏngil that argues that until the reign of King Chŏngjong (r. 1034-1046), military and security concerns were the main reasons behind touring the western capital (now Pyongyang) in the light of dynastic security threats by the increasing military pressure of the new-risen Khitan. Only after the Liao military threat had disappeared in the second half of the eleventh century, did these tours obtain ideological and cultural dimensions. However, there is still room to discuss in how far military concerns do not also carry ideological dimensions and if the same argument can be adopted to the town Kaesŏng located



Figure 52: Sunjong, the last Chosŏn king (1874-1926) who reigned until the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in 1910, on a royal tour visiting the stairway of the Manwŏltae Hwoegyŏngjŏn site in 1909 among his entourage. On the occasion of his death 24 April 1926 the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* publishes the photograph framed by a black-ribbon (left).

The late Chosŏn King Kojong made a royal tour to Kaesŏng in 1872. A modern example, popularly documented through a photograph, is emperor Sunjong's tour to Kaesŏng in early 1909, one year before Korea officially lost its independence to the Japanese Empire.¹⁶⁰ He travelled for two weeks through the provinces of Kyŏngsan, P'yŏngyan and Hwanghae, using the railway built by the Japanese throughout the country. The photograph shows the last Chosŏn king (1874-1926) on his royal tour visiting the stairway of the Manwŏltae Hwoigyŏngjŏn site in 1909 among his entourage. On the occasion of his death 24 April 1926, already well into the period of the Japanese Occupation, the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* (1926.04.29) publishes the photograph in a black-ribboned frame (Figure 52).¹⁶¹

Although an image of Kojong's last official tour, the choice of picture is intriguing. There must have been a wide range of pictures to pick from, but this one from a visit to the ruined palace

further south. See: Chin Yŏngil 1987. A Study on the Koryŏ Emperors' Visit to Sŏgyŏng (Koryŏ chewing-ŭi Sŏgyŏng sunhaeng ko 高麗諸王의 西京巡幸考), *Chejudaenonmunjip* 25(1): 197-214.

The late 19th century record *Imhap'ilgi* (林下筆記) 제 31 권, 순일편(旬一編) '송도(松都)에 행행(行幸)하여 알성(謁聖)한 일' suggests frequent visits of Kaesŏng to the later Chosŏn kings stating that King Yŏngjo initiated the custom of conveying a state-examination entry exam at the Confucian Academy Sŏnggyun'gwan on the way back from his Kaesŏng *haenghaeng* in 1740.

¹⁶⁰ For a study on his tour earlier the same year to the southern regions, see: Lee Wang-moo 2007. A Study on the southern royal tour of Emperor Sunjong, his Majesty of the Taehan Empire. *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 30(2): 59-88.

For a study that points to the ideological purpose of the tour, see: Park Jin-Woo 1999. The development and people of Ch'ŏnhwang's imperial tour. *Pudaesahak* 23: 381-405.

¹⁶¹ *Tonga Ilbo* 1926.04.29 (2/6), '隆熙三年純宗北巡하시든 光景, 開城 滿月臺에서'

site of a long abandoned capital was put in print. Why? Looking at this picture must have been painstakingly symbolic of the death of the Korean nation and state. For one, the ruined site of the former powerful Koryŏ capital palace in itself had been the object of contemplation of dynastic decay throughout the Chosŏn period (see introduction to chapter V). As a colonized subject seeing in retrospect the last Korean Emperor walking down the stairs of the palace site must therefore have provoked connotations to the end of the emperor's life as well as to the end of a dynastic era, the submission of Yi Chosŏn to a foreign power. More than just personal grievance for the deceased emperor, the black ribboned image thus alludes to an affair of national emergency.

DPRK Cultural 'on-the-spot-guidance' in Kaesŏng

In line with traditional custom, Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il give site inspections and their instructions and teachings given on these visits become guidelines for further activities.¹⁶² So-called on-the-spot-guidance (현지지도) by state leaders if of industrial or cultural heritage sites, are very symbolic and a significant visual marker for the common people. The importance and value of the cultural heritage site or object is seen through its connection to these on-site visits and instructions given.

Date	Who	Spots
1953 August	Only a delegation	Manwŏltae
1954 December	Kim Il Sung	Sŏnjukkyo, P'yoch'ungbi, Namdaemun (and ordered them to be restored)
1957 August 25-26	Kim Il Sung	Namdaemun and Yŏnboksa bell, Chanamsan (Kwandŏkjŏng Pavilion ¹⁶³), Kongmin tomb; Pakyŏn Fall, Kwanŭmsa temple ¹⁶⁴ , Taehŭngsan-sŏng ¹⁶⁵
1968 August	Kim Jong Il	Pakyŏn Falls
1972 Autumn	Kim Il Sung	Namdaemun, Sŏnjukkyo to check the preservation (Inscription of 'Chosŏn omoni Rock' at Pakyŏn in 1972)
1992 May	Kim Il Sung	Pakyŏn Falls, Manwŏltae ¹⁶⁶ , Sŏnggyun'gwan ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² For the relationship of Kim's teaching and the cultural heritage system, see: Kim Ŭnghwan 김응환, Chŏn Yŏngsŏn 전영선 1997. Study of the North Korean cultural heritage administration (북한의 문화유산 관리에 대한 연구- 김일성 부자의 교시와 법령을 중심으로). *Minjokhak yŏn'gu* 2: 179-219.

¹⁶³ See: Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 86.

¹⁶⁴ See: Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 117.

¹⁶⁵ See: Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 69.

These statements were mostly done while visiting the site on situ, and frequently repeated in the scholarly texts on the respective heritage object. Notably since the early 1990s the written North Korean records, even in the professional heritage and archaeology journals, are more often than not referring to Kim Il Sung and also Kim Jong Il's past inspections, so called 'on-the-spot-guidance' visits of the respective sites they describe. Striking is the homogenous anecdote-like pattern in these narratives. By touching the very bottom of the reader's emotions, these anecdotes define a natural relationship order that places the benevolent and affectionate behaviour of the leaders above the slightly stupefied people.

The common element of surprise and stupefaction of the people is emphasised in the role of one child-like unknowledgeable man who will be enlightened, often asking a question that then will be explained very easily, and then instructed for further action by his Leader. In a simple diary like structure with lively dialogues of instructions and questions the narratives of on-the-spot guidance teach about the significance of the people's past as didactic models for the present. In addition to the traditional approach to on-site visits, the narration style too bears some resemblance to the Chosŏn dynastic practices (cf. section V.II.ii, P'yoch'ungbi). Kim anecdote-like narratives and propaganda are borrowing essential elements from the Chosŏn dynastic annals in style and metaphors. Like the Chosŏn annals they are diary-like accounts with engaging narratives in dialogue form that include place and 'plot' description of royal action. Further it uses the metaphor of the leader as a caring parent whose duty is to care about and enlighten his subject¹⁶⁸ with teachings and instructions for future action (for preservation). Both practices of personal inspections and their records are a time-tested custom to emphasize the personal care and devotion of the ruler for his people and their past, a tradition that was developed to its exaggerated form in the DPRK.¹⁶⁹ I believe the use of emotion has been initiated deliberately to consolidate state internal loyalties. For one the use of emotion defines the interdependence between a respected and caring parenting leader and its people, thus defining a social relationship, a family structured ranking. Further, the very visit of the

¹⁶⁶ See: Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 92.

¹⁶⁷ See: Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 97.

¹⁶⁸ Chosŏn scholars recommended worshipping Koryŏ royal portraits as it 'allowed people to look up to and admire T'aejo as if he were a father and mother' (*Sejong Sillok* 4:1a-b).

¹⁶⁹ For Kaesŏng examples from the *Chosŏn Sillok* see episode of unplanned stop on Sŏnjukkyo and sudden inspiration to instruct about its importance and erection of memorial stele in honour of loyal subject Chŏng, section V.II.II. For Kim Il Sung's summarised anecdotes related to Kaesŏng Pakyŏn Waterfall see section V.III.i, Kaesŏng Museum section V.IV.ii and Sŏnjukkyo-bridge, section V.II.iiiI below

individual local site in all the various corners of the country, the omnipresence by the leading figures Kim Il Sung or Jong Il, reflects their all-embracing love and care given and received. In addition to the personal relationship this love is also connected to the pride in the local home and the perception of the visit as privilege, nurtured by local semi-legendary accounts and memorial markers of the *event*.¹⁷⁰

Signposts and teachings

The most prominent visual markers of cultural designations are in situ in front of the heritage site, or object that already started to be in use during the Japanese Colonial period. Latest since the early 1990s designation markers are always accompanied by explanatory signboards. These give brief historic information about the heritage object that in most cases is adjunct to the personal statements and teachings of Kim Il Sung or Kim Jong Il. These statements are rendered in bright red and/or bold print, a rule that applies to all authentic statements from the Kims, also in the print media (Myers 2010, 103). Seeing the always same patterns of starting the signposts with the red coloured sayings like ‘The Great Leader Kim Il Sung and the Great General Kim Jong Il say...’ followed about their teachings and instructions and then further general information in black, one South Korean columnist writes that ‘one cannot but be dumbstruck’ (Ch’oi Chŏnguk 2008.12.05 *Kunsanmirae Sinmun*).

In the DPRK the national treasures were designated in different stages. The chronological change in terms and additional designations is reflected in the different types of designation signposts. In the first phase historic sites (*sajok*) and remains (*yujŏk*) were given numbers from 1 to 139 structured according their location in a city and province, starting from the capital Pyongyang. In the second phase, the designation numbers were ordered according to region and

¹⁷⁰ One example for the heightened value and attention given to a site through the visit and care received by Kim Il Sung, is the 50th memorial anniversary of Kim Il Sung’s visit of King Tongmyŏng’s tomb on 25 August 1953, that was celebrated in presence of leading members of the cultural, and archaeological institutes and university professors in 2003 (‘위대한 수령 김일성동지께서 동명왕릉을 돌아 보신 50 돛 기념보고회’, *Minjok munhwa yusan*, 2003 (4): 13). Equally in remembrance of a visit and instruction for preservation of Kim Il Sung at the Tongmyŏng tomb on 2 April 1989 a conference of the Academy of Science was organised. 조선중앙통신. ‘위대한 수령 김일성동지의 동명왕릉현지지도 20 돛기념 사회과학부문 연구토론회’, *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* 2009(3): 12-13.

given numbers starting from 140. Additional national treasures that were newly excavated and restored and so designated afterwards are numbered from 191 (Paek Taenam 2006, 11).

The shape of the designation marker stele has continued to be the same. Also the inscription content has remained identical, predominantly titling the name of the site in its centre, the designation category in the top right corner and the designation number in the left. However the inscription's choice of scripts varies between different combinations of the Chinese script, *hanja*, the Korean script, *han'gŭl*, and Roman or Chinese numbers. Although there is not a recognisable rule of stylistic developments, the more recent markers tend to use less *hanja*, as for example to be seen in the comparison of the two designation markers of the old Koryŏ academy *Sŏnggyun'gwan* that both remain in front of the building (Figure 53 and Figure 54).



Figure 53: Older marker: *Sŏnggyun'gwan* (Han'gŭl and hanja), *chichŏng kojŏk* (in han'gŭl), no 234 (hanja). In the case of the *Sŏnggyun'gwan*, the old marker remained in place

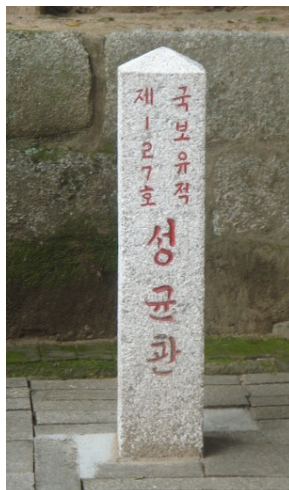


Figure 54: Newer marker: *Sŏnggyun'gwan*, *kukpo yujŏk* no 127, all in Korean script (han'gŭl) with Roman numbers



Figure 55: Indicating *Sŏnjukkyo* as *chijŏng kojŏk* (designated ancient remain) no. 235



Figure 56: A new designation stele placed on the other side of the bridge marking it a National Treasure Remain kukpo yujök, no. 159. It is installed together with a signboard introducing the historical facts about the bridge.



Figure 57: A stone panel in front of the Sungyangsöwön with instructions on proper behaviour at the historic site

Due to the confusing array of designation terms and their changes in use, a clear and consistent labelling of sites as published in North and South Korea seems quite a task.

One such example is the historic site of Sŏnjukkyo bridge in the centre of Kaesŏng. Up to the 1980s the Sŏnjukkyo bridge was labelled a *chijŏng kojök* no. 235 (designated ancient remain) with the designation stele placed in front of the eastern bridge side (Figure 55). In some South Korean publications that summarise the designations of cultural properties in the DPRK up to the year 1984, Sŏnjukkyo bridge appears as designated national treasure, *kukpogŭp* no 36 (Pak Chongjin 2001).

Deducting photographic evidence from publications, at some point in the 1980s the designation stele was removed and replaced by a new one on the western side of the bridge, alongside a new sign board. Since then it remains there labelling the site as National Treasure Remain *kukpo yujök*, no. 159 next to the signboard with historical facts about the bridge and of course a teaching of Kim Il Sung in red letters (Figure 56). So over the course of thirty years three different designation terms and numbers had been introduced and used for the same object.

The emotional and personal leader orientated evaluation is further highlighted by the North Korean pictorial compilation *Scenic spots and historic Relics in Korea* (Ri Kŭmsŏn 1995, 3). The twentieth and last volume (CYYT 1996, 10+12) of *The illustrated Book of ruins and relics of Korea* includes two maps of the whole Korean peninsula, one each respectively marking important cultural heritage sites (*yŏksa yujŏk*) as proclaimed by Kim Il Sung (marking sixteen important cultural sites in the ROK) and Kim Jong Il (marking fourteen important sites in the ROK). The other volumes are ordered according to periods and within the particular period according to material categories (ceramics, architecture etc.).

North Korean publications on cultural heritage sites and objects differ to their South Korean counterparts, who tend to show a strong stress on designation terms and numberisation in the respective descriptions. Also their publications on North Korean cultural heritage often focus on the national treasures always including the property numbers. However it is interesting to notice that North Korean publications on the opposite are not introducing their cultural heritage according to property lists. Although North Korea has designated 193 national treasures (*kukpo yujŏk*), all of them being material heritage ranging from historic buildings, fortresses, tombs, temples, Buddhist artefacts and other objects, descriptive information on the respective heritage leave out the property number. If a designation category is mentioned, it is always set in connection with a teaching or instruction by one of the Kims.

The signboards and polices referential to Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il have forged important social and emotional connections to the local population and historical cultural importance to the site. Learnt in what Rom Harré calls a 'local moral order', emotions are the products of culture, governed by local normative expectations (1986, 6). The process of ideological naturalization happened not through a denial of a Korean cultural past itself, but rather through the exploitation of an expanding discursive sphere that became increasingly contemporaneous and localized. Further the natural inclusion into the Korean heritage map as taught by the two leaders goes to show the importance put on the personal connection between the political leader and the evaluation of culture in the DPRK outside the limits of state cultural property lists. It is exactly these emotional ties to the state and its ideology inspired by precedent traditional concepts that are to strengthen the state internally. Yet, these same emotions stand in opposition to the ideology of the ROK. In contrast, the common emotions of the *Kulturnation* are actively

employed to ground a common nationhood encompassing the people of the whole Korean peninsula. These dividing and unifying emotions connected to cultural heritage stand in constant competition. The major challenge of joint cultural activities and inter-Korean cooperation that underlie the aim of rapprochement is to find a balance between these (emotional) dividing state and shared nation identifications.

IV PROFESSIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE INTERPRETATION

IV.I INTER-KOREAN COOPERATION BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE AND POLITICAL TRENDS

It was a first signal for a time of political rapprochement through culture, when during inter-ministerial talks of the two Koreas in 1990 the *Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act* was implemented. Unlike most other conflict areas of the world, cooperation is based on a shared language, race, and culture. Cultural cooperation is supposed to address and build upon these common goods of all Koreans. Thus the objectives of the act underlie a nationalistic agenda that yet again are referred to as a common identifying tool for the two Korean states based on ethnic and cultural solidarity, the prevalent concept of the *Kulturnation* (cf. chapter II.I.i). Notably, the approving agreement of the respective states has been essential to conduct any of the cooperation across the dividing state borders following up the discussion on the use of cultural emotions in politics in the previous chapter.

Gabriel Jonsson studied the development and results of socio-cultural exchanges as a unification tool in Korea. However, he concluded little optimism over their effectiveness (Jonsson 2006, 130-140). One reason for this is the dwarf-like scale of cultural exchanges compared to economic and political cooperation and the wide field of what is grouped under socio-cultural activities, for example, sports, aid work, concerts. Further, activities so far have been mostly one-off events. Planning failed to try and foresee possible extensions of activities for longer lasting effects. Disturbed by political tensions, particularly provoked by the North's withdrawal from the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty in 2003 and followed up by reciprocal demonstrations of power with nuclear tests, two decades after the implementation of the *Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act* not much exchange or cooperation was encountered.

A year after the implementation of the *Socio-Cultural Exchanges Promotion Act*, the South Korean archaeologist Im Hyo-Jai (1991) publishes an article where he advocates the importance of inter-Korean exchange in archaeology.¹⁷¹ For one he concludes that access and exchange of archaeological material are important to counter interpretation differences. Secondly, he describes inter-Korean exchange and archaeology paramount for staying connected to one's origin as well as for Korean specialists not to be overshadowed by foreign professionals on the study of their own country. Given the lack of inter-Korean exchange 'the result could be disastrous for Korean people, for they may become even more alienated and unable to recognize their common ethnic or cultural origin any longer' (Im 1991, 26). Due to the social and political restrictions South Korean archaeological study results are rarely referred to in the North and vice versa, and thus lacking.

True, the first few South Korean publications with an interest in the archaeology of the North and its cultural heritage were either purely based on historical documents or kept rather general. In preparation for cultural exchange, one of the more extensive books was published on *The situation and status of North Korean cultural properties* in 1985¹⁷², trying to identify the status of cultural property in the North. The report examines North Korean cultural administration and management and excavated sites from 1945 to 1980. It further lists the North Korean national treasures as earlier published by the ROK 'Fatherland Unification Institute' (1984) and by the ROK Culture and Press Ministry in 1971. The DPRK, too, underwent a period of publications especially aimed for an international audience. The publications about its cultural heritage and

¹⁷¹ Among other tasks under this act, the ROK Ministry of Unification cites the extension and cooperation regarding cultural heritage of the nation. The realisation of this proposition would be strongly desirable.

¹⁷² Later South Korean research on the DPRK cultural policy was particularly done by: Chang Hosu 2000. *North Korea's Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Management* (북녘의 고고학과 문화재관리); Seoul: Paeksan Charyowŏn. It gives a short comparison between North and South cultural administrative policy with an additional comparative time table. Chang Hosu 2005. Pukhan-ŭi munhwajae pojonkwanli ch'aegye; pŏp, chedo-wa kigu, chŏngch'aek, in *T'ongil-kwa kukt'o*, Korean Land Corporation: 4-40. Chi Pyŏng-mok 2003. Munhwayumulbohobŏp-ŭl t'onghae pon pukhan-ŭi munhwayusan, *Munhwajae*, 36:39-67. Ha Munsik 2007. The exchange of Cultural Properties between South and North Korea through control of Cultural Properties in North Korea (북한의 문화재 관리와 남북 교류), *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu*, Spring, 30(1): 279-305, 377-378.

the country as a travel destination, in Korean as well as foreign languages,¹⁷³ experienced a peak around 1995.¹⁷⁴

Im (1991, 25) continues arguing that ‘if there is no academic exchange between North and South Koreans in the future, archaeologists of both Koreas might be overshadowed by Japanese, American or Chinese specialists of Korean archaeology’. This statement hints to third parties both Korean sides are dependent on due to restricted access caused by politics. Particular Japanese scholars have been the middle-men through whom most of the heritage activities and recent research was passed on. And although today most of the individual Japanese scholars are highly respected by their Korean colleagues, the dependency on their work is strongly lamented, and the threat expressed by Im to lose control, i.e. knowledge and expertise, over things Korean to foreigners, still seems very real.

That cross-national cooperation can be a very fruitful furtherance of knowledge even for Korean scholars, however, is exemplified in a story from the recent past. Ko Yusöp, Kaesöng Museum director at a time, mentions in 1935 that on a visit to Kaesöng ‘last year’¹⁷⁵, the Dutch professor for Tibetan Buddhism Johannes Rahder (라-덴 1898-1988), chair for Japanese Language and Cultures in Leiden University, was asked to read and translate the Sanskrit inscription on the Yönboksa temple bell. After giving the rough translations, he was asked to forward the text to the Japanese pioneer in Indian Buddhist Studies, Professor Unrai Ogihara (荻原雲来 1869- 1937) at Taisho University in Tokyo for more detailed translations that were incorporated in the same article published by Ko (1935b).¹⁷⁶

With the turn of the millennium, the two Koreas were weld together in a shared nationalism to counterfeit an equally felt and shared intimidation of collective identity through loss of

¹⁷³ The foreign languages covered are generally Japanese and English yet are often limited to headings and captions with Korean text only.

¹⁷⁴ Academy of Social Science 1983. *Uri nara yöksa yujök*, Pyongyang; Chosön International Travel Company 1995, *Chosön Kwangwang chidoch’öm*, Foreign Language Press. This booklet includes maps of tourist areas in DPRK (10-11) and Kaesöng’s tourist attractions (84-85) and travel distances (82-83).

¹⁷⁵ According to a detailed entry in the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* (1933.07.25), the visit must have taken place not one, but two years before, in July 1933.

¹⁷⁶ Thanks to Prof. Silk and Dr Breuker from Leiden University to verify the names of the Leiden and Taisho University professors. For an introduction to the bell’s history and its inscriptions see also Chapter V.II.i and footnote 260.

meaning and cultural legitimacy as similarly experienced in the Japanese colonisation period (see section II.III). Cultural cooperation tended to be a battle side by side against foreign claims on Korea's past or for international recognition and national pride, UNESCO designations of victimisation if through the former coloniser Japan or the dominant powerful neighbour China. In relation to archaeology it comes close to the positive and negative results of what Bruce Trigger called *nationalistic archaeology* (1984, 358-60). So does nationalistic archaeology help reconstruct collective identities for instance in form of resistance to colonisation. On the other side it often underlies a strong discourse of static ethnicity and homogeneity that is 'to bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups' and is strong among 'peoples who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations or in countries where appeals for national unity are being made to counteract serious divisions along class lines' (Trigger 1984, 360). However, with the exception of some critical opinion makers, even in the South the outward unification rhetoric fails to address the obvious one-sided nature of inter-Korean cooperation predominantly concerned with cultural heritage in the North and financial input from the South. An expense and project plan of the ROK Cultural Heritage Administration (Cultural Heritage Administration 2007, 262-3) with an overview with inter-Korean cooperation concerning cultural properties neatly lists the funds allocated for the respective activities beginning from 2003.

At the Joint Academic Seminar titled 'the Return of Cultural Assets Plundered by Japan' held in Pyongyang in February 2004, the two Koreas shared their awareness on issues concerning the history of the Korean people. Moreover, the two sides came to an agreement on organizing a joint meeting, the so-called *Council of North and South Korean Historians* Nambuk Yōksa hakja hyōpūihoe 남북역사학자협의회).¹⁷⁷

In 1998 the DPRK signed the UNESCO convention and already in 2000 prepared for the nomination of the Complex of Koguryō Tombs, inclusive the one of Koguryō founder Tongmyōng, to the World Heritage List that opened the international stage for North Korean cultural heritage and had led to close collaboration between UNESCO and the DPRK. That designation was completed successfully in July 2004. As part of the designation process the

¹⁷⁷ In May, a nine-member North Korean delegation attended a conference in Seoul, entitled 'Consultative Meeting Requesting Japan to Resolve the Past.' The event attracted attention from the press as the two Koreas made a clear commitment to speak out in one voice to address the issue of Korean women forced into prostitution and forced labour during World War II.

DPRK established the National Bureau for Cultural Property Conservation (NBCPC)¹⁷⁸ under the Cabinet in February 2002, ‘independent from the Ministry of Culture with a view to improving the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural properties located within its territory’. Together with the Korean Cultural Preservation Center (KCPC)¹⁷⁹ it supervises, controls and executes the ‘protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural properties of the country with the laws concerning the cultural and natural and their operational regulations and guidelines as legal means’ (UNESCO 2003).

¹⁷⁸ The NBCPC has departments in charge of the immovable property conservation, museum practices, scientific and technological research works, protection of scenic areas and natural monument, presentation of the cultural and natural properties, etc. It is located in Pyongyang, Tongsong-dong, Central District.

¹⁷⁹ The KCPC is located in Pyongyang, Jinhung-dong, Moranbong District. Its staff amounts to ca. 100 archaeologists, conservation scientists and other experts. It undertakes the archaeological research works, application of conservation technology to the sites, research works on the scheduled scenic areas and natural monuments, publication and dissemination of the knowledge on heritage conservation, documentation, etc. (UNESCO 2003)

Both Koreas fought China's so-called North-eastern Project, which aimed to integrate the 'Korean' history of the Koguryŏ dynasty as part of Chinese history as its territories and cultural remains extended in what is the present territory of China. This fiercely contested claim is frequently referred to as new challenge to historians, both in the South or North. North Korea's ancient relics are seen valuable in countering these 'historical offensives' of China. The Chinese government's distortion of Korean Three Kingdoms' History in August 2004 sparked even greater interest to join forces and defend the newly designated UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage site in North Korea, a complex of Koguryŏ tombs, as Korean. With Participants from the North and the South, an exhibition and seminar commemorating the registration of the tombs as a World Cultural Heritage site were held at Mt. Kŭmgangsan in September 2004. The event was successful, and the two sides agreed on a joint project to preserve Koguryŏ archaeological sites in the future (ROK M Unification, White Paper on Unification 2005, 86).¹⁸⁰ This joint project was realised from 19 April to 2 May 2006. In short twelve days the team investigated the preservation state of ten tombs, and visited some of the nearby tourist attractions (NRICH 2006, 16), the results of which are published in a wonderful two volume, illustration strong research report.



Figure 58: North and South Korean participants at the Koguryŏ mural painting tombs' joint research and preservation fieldwork in April 2006 (NRICH 2006, 15)

¹⁸⁰ The Korean Council for Reconciliation and Cooperation exhibited the replicas of Koguryŏ relics produced by North Korea at the South-North Koguryŏ Exhibition in Seoul in 2003 and 2004 from 9 April to 20 June.

Further joint Korean efforts in archaeology were marked by very political nationalistic anniversaries. Symbolical was the repatriation of the Pukkwan Victory Monument (*Pukkwan Taech'ŏppi* 北關大捷碑) in October 2005 from Japan to Korea on the 100th anniversary of the Ŭlsa Treaty that made Korea officially a Japanese protectorate in 1905. The monument marks victorious Korean battles against Japanese troops during the Imjin Wars between 1592 and 1594. Its repatriation first to Seoul, and its dismantling and removal to its original location in North Korea in 2006 (where it had been designated National Treasure No. 193) was always celebrated with much pomp. After the original had been returned to the DPRK, a replica has been placed in the yard of the Seoul Palace Museum marking its importance for Japanese-Korean historiography.

Another attempt to commemorate the anniversary was the official decision during inter-ministerial talks in 2005 to recover the mortal remains of the Korean independence fighter An Chunggŭn (安重根 1879-1910), executed in China for his assassination of the Japanese Resident-General Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文 1841-1909). The recovery started in 2008 but failed to be concluded as nothing could be found.

These efforts for prospective cultural designation and restitution led to heightened cultural contact and exchange between the two Koreas and their scholars, and considerably improved the information flow.

IV.II RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

Still in 1998 and 1999 it was a Japanese team from Taisho University that lay the foundation work for a joint Korean reconstruction and took part in an excavation with the North Korean Archaeological Research Institute of the Academy of Social Science and the Songdo College of Education at the Kaesŏng's temple site Yŏngt'ongsa (Nishitani 2005, 20) (Figure 59).¹⁸¹ The foreign and Japanese help remained unmentioned in North Korean publications (Ri 2002, 86 and Song Yŏng-man 2008, 12). The Pyongyang Press release from 6 May 2001, a day after the end of excavation celebration, also, does not inform about the Japanese contribution and solely praises the North Korean Archaeological Research Institute for their work (OCP 2001). A South Korean side was involved only after the completion of the excavation and the politically paved way for inter-Korea cooperation following the 2000 inter-Korean summit.

Through the joined effort of the North Korean Chosŏn Economic Cooperation Committee (*Chosŏn kyŏngje hyŏblyŏk uiwŏnhoe* 조선경제협력위원회), and the South Korean Buddhist Ch'ŏnt'aek order in November 2002, a reconstruction of the temple site was initiated.¹⁸² During the sixteen meetings of the 'Kaesŏng Yŏngt'ongsa Reconstruction committee' compiled of members from the North and South Korean Buddhist orders, there was a considerate flow of people visiting the temple (69 monks, 83 office employees of the order, and 155 transporters). The order's material contribution for the reconstruction were 460,000 roof tiles, 3000 sets of Tanch'ŏng paint material, 10,000 seedlings, 100t of Vinyl material, and other building material and equipment (www.cheontae.org, email correspondence with Kim Kŭmhŭi from the Ch'ŏnt'aek's 'Divided-and-become one-movement' division March 2009).

¹⁸¹ Hŏ T'ae-sŏn 2006. The newly restored Kaesŏng Ryŏngt'ongsa temple (Saero pokwŏndoin Kaesŏng Ryŏngt'ongsa), *Minjok Munhwa Yusan*, 2006(2): 24-5. Kim Namsŏng 2005. Koryŏ Wangjo wŏnch'al Yŏngt'ongsa pogwŏn han Ch'ŏnt'aek-jong muwŏn sŭnim, *Wŏlgan Chosŏn*, Dec. 208-212. Uŭ Yŏng-ch'ŏl 위영철 and Lim Hŭng-sik 림흥식 2006. About the reconstruction of the Koryŏ period Ryŏngt'ongsa (Koryŏ Ryŏngt'ongsa pogweon-e taehayeo 고려 령통사복원에 대하여), *Chosŏn Kŏnch'uk* 조선건축, 2006(1): 57-64.

Li In-tong 리인동 and Im Sŏng-t'aek 임성태 2006. 령통사 단청복원 Ryŏngt'ongsa tanch'ŏng pogwŏn, 조선건축 *Chosŏn Kŏnch'uk*, 2006(2): 29-30.

The complete excavation report is published in two volumes by the Taisho University Buddhist Research Center 2005, *Reitsūjiseki: Kaijō shozai*, Tokyo: Taisho University Press.

Kaesŏng Ryŏngt'ongsa pogwŏn kinyŏm haksul t'oronhoe charyojip, 31 October 2005 and ASS ARI 2004. Ryŏngt'ongsa yujŏk palgul pogo, Pyongyang: ASS Publication.

See also: Chōsen sŏtokufu, *Chōsen kinseki sŏran*, Seoul: Chungang munhwa ch'ulp'ansa, 1968 (CKS)

¹⁸² The Ch'ŏnt'aek order head monk Muwŏn Yu Chŏngsan from the Myŏnglag-sa temple made himself a name for his engagement for the 'South-North joint Yŏngt'ongsa reconstruction project' (Interview 2 September 2009).

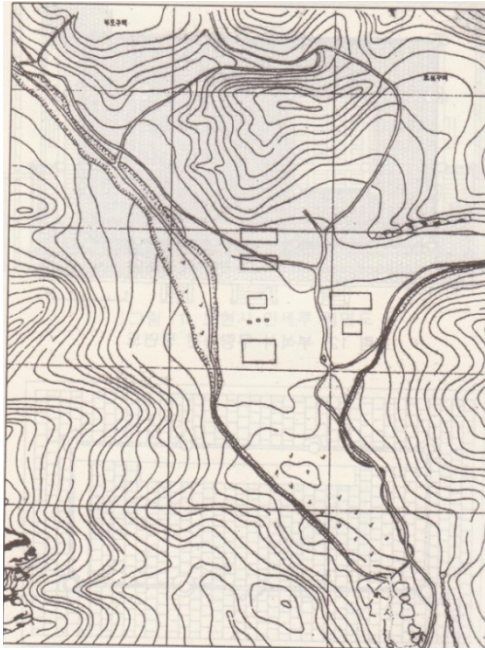


Figure 59: Yōngt'ongsa site map before reconstruction (Ri Ch'angŏn 2003, 268)

The Yōngt'ongsa temple 永統寺 site is situated on the southern slopes of Mount Ogwansan around ten kilometres north of the city. The temple was closely associated with the Koryŏ royal house, and many sons of the aristocracy used to spend some of their time as monks there. Its foundation date cannot be ascertained, but it is likely to be one of the temples founded by T'aejo in 919.¹⁸³ Probably its most celebrated relic is the reliquary holding stele erected in commemoration of the death of the famous monk Ŭich'ŏn (義天 1055-1101) in 1125, the so-called *Yōngt'ongsa Taekakguksabi* (Figure 60).¹⁸⁴

Ŭich'ŏn was the fourth son of King Munjong (文宗 r. 1043-85) and sent to study with the abbot Nanwŏn (999-1066) in 1065 (*Koryŏsa chŏryo* 8:27b) only ten years old. He is said to have lived there for two decades and is thus closely associated with the temple's Buddhist Hwaŏm school, but especially remembered as the founding patriarch of the smaller Buddhist sect Ch'ŏnt'aek.¹⁸⁵ Due to the royal link to the temple, Yōngt'ongsa became one of the major five temples that were visited for the royal Buddhist rituals, *pulgyohaengsa* (Pak Chongjin 2000, 38).

In the travelogues of the Chosŏn period scholar Kim Ch'ang-hyŏp from 1671 notes that

Yōngt'ongsa had been a grand capital temple (*kŏch'al*) since its construction.

[According to historical documents it was frequented by the Koryŏ kings since King Hyŏnjong (r. 1009-1031)]. However, since its founding it suffered damage by fire and

¹⁸³ On its website and in other public statements the South Korean Ch'ŏnt'aek order dates the temple's foundation to 1027.

¹⁸⁴ According to the travelogue 'Songdorok' from 1477 by Ch'ae Su, the inscription text was written by O Ŏnho and incised by Kim Pusik. *Taekak* 大覺 is Ŭich'ŏn's posthumous name and *kuksa* 國師 his rank as a monarch's monk.

¹⁸⁵ See Vermeersch (2008) for a detailed discussion on the South Korean Ch'ŏnt'aek order and its role and incentives in the reconstruction of the Yōngt'ongsa.

only ash remains, and of the many things only one, two things are all there is. In the yard there are three stone pagodas. Outside the gate stood Ŭich'ŏn's stone stele, but it was cut off on its lower back so that the inscription is unreadable. The temple's western side building (*sŏru*) disappeared (Kim Ch'ang-hyŏp in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 158).

The temple dimensions were probably already smaller in the fifteenth century as to be judged from the described number of monks and buildings. It appears that it was destroyed in the late sixteenth century during the Hideyoshi invasions and only archaeological remains, foundation structure and pagodas, remained. Nevertheless, Kim Yuk (金堉 1580-1658) in 1607 still saw the above mentioned stele and its inscription intact (Kim Yuk in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 134) and officials came to visit the temple (*Kwanghae Sillok* 53:5a).¹⁸⁶ Into our times the national treasures, the five-storey pagoda (Figure 61) and the Tae'gakguksabi, and the designated historic relics, two three-storey pagodas remained among the ruined temple site (Figure 62).



Figure 60: Stone memorial stele for the monk Ŭich'ŏn, Yŏngt'ongsa temple, pomul treasure no 36

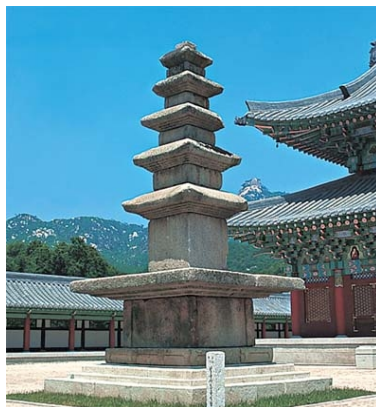


Figure 61: 5-storey stone pagoda at Yŏngt'ong-sa temple, kukpo national treasure no 37, reassembled and with a new foundation



Figure 62: Eastern 3-storey pagoda, the designation marker reads: Democratic People's Republic of Korea

¹⁸⁶ The text also refers to a temple bell that was issued under king Injong (仁宗 r. 1122-1146).

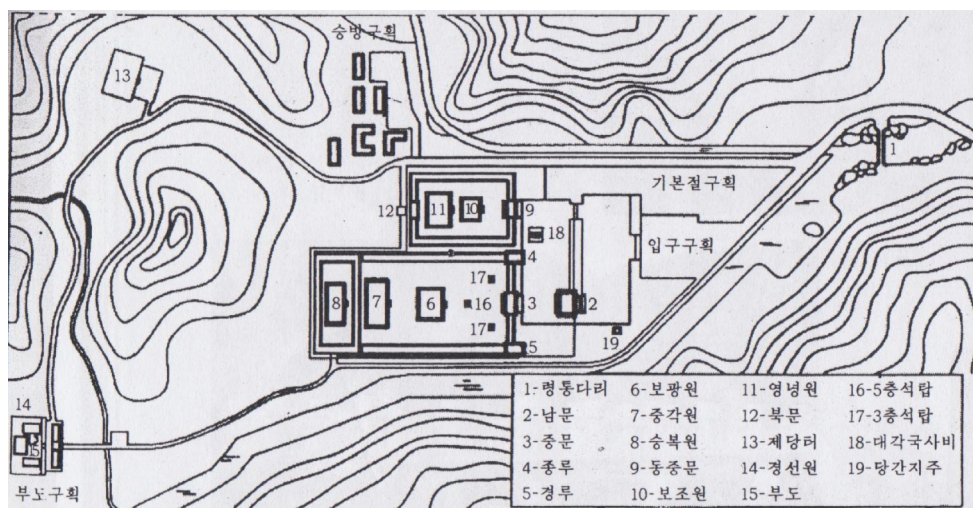


Figure 63: Ground plan of the temple's reconstruction. No 14 in the lower left corner marks the former nuns quarter, the so-called *Kyōngsŏn-wŏn*, which 'according to research' was Ŭich'ŏn's ancestral hall with the national treasured monk stupa, *pudo* (Wi Yŏngch'ŏl and Rim Hŭngsik 2006, 57) in its front yard.

In 2006 a DPRK media article states that 'despite being busy with state affairs Kim Jong Il visited the temple site in his restricted time to inspect its correct reconstruction. He said that this valuable national heritage, the Yŏngt'ong-sa, is a holy place for the Ch'ŏnt'ae order, and therefore was excavated and reconstructed to its original state.' He also instructed to use the Koryŏ style of temple building painting (Ri and Im 2006, 29-30).¹⁸⁷ Ri In-tong and Im Song-t'ae, two scholars from the Pyongyang Construction University (평양건설건축대학), carefully describe the three different painting levels employed according to the status use of the buildings. From the plain so-called *muhyŏn-tanch'ŏng* for monks' living quarters etc to the second level the *kyŏlhyŏn-tanch'ŏng* for gates and towers, and the highest, the *manhyŏn-tanch'ŏng* reserved for the main prayer halls. They also try to establish a distinction in painting style to the earlier Koguryŏ and later Chosŏn period and thus cite a record that describes the Koryŏ period colour and motif law.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ The article finally also credited the Japanese work, but this time leaves the South Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae order's material and financial support unmentioned. 'The Archaeological Research Institute of the DPRK's Academy of Social Science together with the Japanese Taisho University jointly excavated an area of 60,000 m² over three years with much endurance. Historical scholars, the Pyongyang Construction University and other specialists researched, designed and executed the temple's reconstruction' (Pak Ch'angbok, 2006).

¹⁸⁸ Featuring on the reconstruction work of the Pyongyang based Koryo Fine Arts Studio, one article quotes a member of the studio saying 'We are reproducing Buddhist fittings as they used to be. They show the features of their corresponding time and the characteristics of individual temples true to the historical data and photos. It is our responsibility to restore and rebuild the treasured heritages that carry with them original architectural styles and artistic genius of our ancestors of different ages and hand them down to posterity.' 'History Reproducers',



Figure 64: Yŏngt'ongsa temple layout after reconstruction (Image from <http://www.cheontae.org>)

- 1) Central Gate 2) West Gate 3) Belfry 4) Scriptorium 5) Pogwangwŏn,¹⁸⁹ Enlightenment Hall
 6) Chunggakwŏn, Lecture Hall 7) Sŭngbokwŏn, Royal guesthouse¹⁹⁰ 8) Stele Pavilion
 9) East Gate 10) Pochowŏn, Bodhisattva Hall
 11) Yŏngnyŏngwŏn, Royal and holy monks' portrait Shrine¹⁹¹ 12) Monks' Quarters

The archaeological excavation discovered three main cultural layers, the last from the early Chosŏn period.¹⁹² The latter included also finds with dated roof tiles from 1564 (Paek Sunnam 2004, 37). In conjunction with old documents the finds could identify a major extension and heightened significance of the temple for the early eleventh century. It was in everyone's

Korea Today, No 637, issue 7, Juche 1998 (2009),

<http://www.kcckp.net/en/periodic/todaykorea/index.php?contents+4533+2009-07+129+17>.

¹⁸⁹ It is the only building of the temple with a two-storey structure, a feature considered typical of the Koryŏ period. Wi and Rim (2006, 61) mention that the building's foundation size and pillar interval was compared to another grand temple, the Changansa 長安寺 in Mount Kŭmgangsan (originally founded in the 6th century, but extended to its actual size and prominence under King Sŏngjong in the late 10th century) that therefore served as a model for reconstruction.

¹⁹⁰ It is said to be first used as a *wŏndang* building where the spirit of T'aejo Wang Kŏn was called for help and only later turned into the guesthouse of royal visitors.

¹⁹¹ Now it is also the place where the portrait painting of monk Ŭich'ŏn is hold. From the record Koryŏsa it is known that king Injong's (r. 1122-1146) portrait was enshrined in the Yŏngt'ongsa (Koryŏsa 17.24a), as well as those of Chosŏn King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) and King T'aejo (Koryŏsa 19:17b; Vermeersch 2008, 1511). In his travelogue from 1477 Yu Hoin writes that a monk showed his travel group ancestral portraits. One was of the second son of king Munjong and elder brother of Ŭich'ŏn, 13th Koryŏ king Sŏnjong (1049-1094). Another was of the 'well-mannered and talented' Hong Cha'bŏn (1237-1306), who was recommended into a government post where he loyally served King Ch'ungsŏnwang. A further portrait is that of Hong's grandson Hong Yŏngt'ong (?-1395), slightly disregarded for his ingratiation to Sindon. The last portrait was that of the scholar Yun Sŏk (?-1348) who also won strong favours; particular from King Ch'ungsukwang under whom he received a minister post (Yu in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 69-70).

¹⁹² Ri Ch'ang-chin 2002. Ryŏngt'ongsa yujŏk-eso naon kanjimyŏngjagi-ŭi nyŏndae-e taehayŏ. *Chosŏn Kogo Yŏn'gu* 1: 18-20.

interest to reconstruct a Koryŏ period temple at the height of its power and not in its appearance evolved until its destruction (Wi Yŏng-ch'ŏl and Rim Hŭng-sik 2006, Song Yŏng-man 2008).

Sem Vermeersch (2008) addressed the problematic historical inaccuracy of the contemporary reconstruction layout despite better knowledge through the excavation results, as well as the questionable names given to the single edifices. Some reconstructions are surprising as they lack explanation. So are the three pagodas of the main court yard placed in a triangle, the two three-storied pagodas drawing the base line and the five-storey pagoda placed in the centre, but pushed further inward towards the Enlightenment Hall, although the ground map prior the reconstruction shows them more or less on line. Further he noted that the reconstruction seem to do more justice to the contemporary interpretations, ideals and aimed function than the original temple layout and its prior use.

Also notable is that all concerted efforts were directed to the physical reconstruction of the temple rather than a remembrance and exchange on the Buddhist teachings in general or that of the temple's patron in particular. In view of the significance put on the monk Ŭich'ŏn (particular by the South Korean side) it seems surprising that the area north-east of the temple, the ruined site of his tomb (or ancestral shrine¹⁹³) has been left untouched (Figure 63). Perhaps it needs to be added that this inconsequent practice of reconstruction in discordance to some archaeological findings is no way unknown of in South Korea, too, the most prominent example being that of Pulguksa temple in Kyŏngju. There for example, despite better knowledge, the pond in front of the temple was not reconstructed, and the reclining temple path gave way to other paths in favour of tourist management. Interestingly then, it was foremost 'aesthetic' reasons that provoked the critique of visiting South Korean scholars in November 2005. They found faults with cement used to build the edifices and the bright coloured *tanch'ŏng* painting style practiced in the North, the size relation of the memorial stele in front of the buildings and the fact its back side faces to the front (Pak Chongjin 2006, 222; Hong Yŏngŭi 2006, 205).

¹⁹³ North Korean sources differ in their description of the area. One calls it 'Taegakguksa Ŭich'ŏn's myosil ku'jŏk' (Ri 2002, 92) others simply as 'Chedang-t'ŏ' (Wi and Rim 1996, 57).

Kim Jong Il's interest in the temple and its reconstruction is not of religious nature. Through the joint cooperation most of the financial backing is secured from the South, the same which was true for the previous cooperation with Japanese archaeologists. Having the important Kaesŏng temple rebuild in all grandeur and 'true to its historical style' adds to the value of the Koryŏ period capital Kaesŏng as a World Cultural Heritage city, or least an additional source of national pride and symbol of pacifying good-will. Rather than a place of worship, the temple and its Buddhist legacy is viewed as a cultural relic from Korea's prided past, yet another enigmatic source to enhance patriotic feelings. As with other Buddhist remains the emphasis is not on the religious heritage, but on the national history's tradition, and the extension of traditions through the dynastic periods, especially from Koguryŏ to Koryŏ. The process of historical traditions seems to be a consistent view of Buddhist heritage. This is also reflected in the supposed and undetermined government budget for Buddhism, most of which goes into the repair or reconstruction of temples (So Dok Kun 1998). A revived interest in Buddhism for political purposes could also be observed when an equally big part of the *Tripitaka Koreana*, notably a designated World Heritage in the South Korean temple Haeinsa, was allegedly discovered in Mt Myohyangsan, central North Korea.¹⁹⁴



Figure 65: Aerial view of Yŏngt'ong-sa Temple Layout after restoration still without the later added stele pavilion in front of the scriptorium.

¹⁹⁴ Chŏn Yŏngsŏn notes that already in 1949 Kim Il Sung taught at the Myohyangsan Museum and recreation centre that the scattered Buddhist remains at Myohyangsan and elsewhere should be seen in the right context (2005, 66). Kim clearly distinguishes between the need to have the 'public being conscious about the falsity of Buddhism and the trickery of monks, so to detest the outdated, corrupt and exploiting system' (1949.10.15) and to cherish and preserve valuable cultural relics attesting to a skilful and creative people and prided past.

In mid-September 2005 the reconstruction was completed and the festive joint Korean completion ceremony was held on 31 October. Highlight was the revealing of the Buddhist trinity in the main hall, the Pokwangwŏn (Figure 66), accompanied with a Buddhist prayer (Figure 67).¹⁹⁵



Figure 66: Restoration completion ceremony at Yŏngt'ongsa with Buddhist dignitaries from South and North Korea revealing of the Buddhist trinity in the main hall, (Pak Ch'angbok, Chosŏn, 2006(1)



Figure 67: Vice chairman of North Korea's Buddhist Alliance Sim Sangjin and Head monk of the Ch'ŏnt'ae order Yu Chŏngsan during the third anniversary of restoration in June 2007 (China Daily 2007.06.08)

Also in the following years anniversary ceremonies were celebrated. Sim Sangjin,¹⁹⁶ vice-chairman of the North's Korea Buddhists Federation announced in June 2007 that 'I have no doubt that if we make this pilgrimage a regular event and allow South Korean believers to come to the temple, North-South cooperation will deepen and that will open a shortcut to the unification of the fatherland'. And in fact, in July 2007 the South Korean government authorized regular monthly pilgrimages to Yŏngt'ong-sa organized under the Ch'ŏnt'ae order starting 26 July, limited to 500 persons a month. The individual cost was 170,000 Won per person (US\$ 185), with North Korea receiving \$50 from each payment. The ROK Ministry of Unification said the number of trips have been limited to one per month so as not to overlap with efforts by Hyundai Asan to organise trips to Kaesŏng (*Korea.net* 2007.07.15) (see section V.I).

¹⁹⁵ For a North Korean report on the inauguration ceremony and the commemorating scholarly discussion see: Chosŏn chungang t'ŭngsin 2006. 'Kaesŏng Ryŏngt'ongsa pokwonraksŏngsik, Kaesŏng Ryŏngt'ongsa pokwon kinyŏmhaksul t'orŏnhwoi chinhaeng'. *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* 1: 29.

¹⁹⁶ The fact Sim Sangjin and most other North Korean monks are not tonsured raised doubts in the South Korean public about them being 'real' monks, adding to the suspicion of fake, state-sponsored propaganda events. Asked though, it is explained by North Koreans that the monks focus much on their mind-cultivation rather than on their appearance and that they have a free choice. Tonsured or not, all these monks observe the commandants as devoted Buddhists. (So Dok Kun 1998).

The significance of the cooperation of both Korean sides was done under the banner of national unification, rather than Buddhist reunion or cultural retrieval of the temple. Kim Jong Il pointing to the inter-Korean summit of 2000 (known by Koreans as ‘6.15’, 15 June) said that the unification period is reflected in the joint reconstruction efforts of both Koreans and the Ch’ŏnt’ae order’s motivation for unification is reflected in the name of the responsible division called ‘Divided-and-become one-movement’-division. Notwithstanding the noble aim, the Buddhist order’s engagement can also be seen in the light of Buddhist order’s quest for revival. Contemporary relevant themes like unification are to increase interest and engagement of laity and to help affirm their place in South Korean society.

Joint Korean projects that are decided on high official level in both Koreas, more easily refer to common ideals that do not challenge each other’s ideology, but unite in a national sentiment of prided culture, aloof from potential singular or specific shared attachments like religion. The DPRK journal *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* (*National Cultural Heritage*), for instance, reports of a joint exhibition and forum in Mt Kūmgang-san on 29 July 2003. Inside the newly established tourist area for South Koreans by Hyundai Asan (cf. section V.I) it was called for a joint Korean scholarly forum and an exhibition on North-South Korean *Tanch’ŏng* (multi-coloured decoration of temple buildings) paintings, most probably with regard to prepare for the restoration of the Singye-sa temple 神溪寺, yet another inter-Korean cultural project, this time with the South Korean Buddhist order Jogye to be started the following year (and completed in 2006). There ‘the panellists univocally agreed that the cultural heritage of the joint nation needs to be well preserved and in order to fulfil this task to the best, need to achieve peace and unification. They insisted that the nation’s reconciliation and union is the only way as proclaimed in the historical Joint Declaration from 15 June 2000 and appealed to put down the fight’ (Academy of Social Science 2003:4, 50).

IV.III INTER-KOREAN EXCAVATIONS IN KAESŎNG

In addition to the reconstruction of the Yŏngt'ongsa temple, the years between 2004 and 2010 also saw a number of joint Korean archaeological excavations that took place in and around Kaesŏng. The economic developments in the free-trade zone, Kaesŏng Industrial Zone (KIZ), as well as the political ones that aimed at cultural exchange and the designation of Kaesŏng as a World cultural heritage site, led to joint Korean excavations and their analysis.

Despite the diverse stakes in place at the two sites, the cultural exchange, i.e. between North and South Korean archaeologists, was initiated under the political cover of rapprochement efforts. The ROK government politically and financially backed these activities as it views 'social and cultural exchanges and cooperation as a buffer to prevent various crises from escalating into a complete severance in inter-Korean relations' (ROK M Unification, White Paper on Unification 2005, 85). So it was primarily political stakes involved in both Korean states that allowed for cultural activities as a proposed safe medium to achieve their aims.

Here the premise of cultural action being largely or even inherently an ideological expression or politically motivated could lead to two opposing conclusions. The first conclusion is that thus cultural cooperation between political enemies cannot lead to political rapprochement as their incentives differ. The other possible conclusion holds against that precisely for the reason of political and/ or economic motivation, cultural action has the potential for rapprochement as the opponents focus on shared aims, even though these aims too might underlie different incentives.

The first opportunity to test the impact of cultural cooperation on rapprochement came with the construction of the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone (KIZ), south-eastwards outside Kaesŏng's ancient city walls, first announced in August 2000. The agreement for the development came after the first inter-Korean summit in 2000, and thus was first made possible through political activities

(Burghart and Frank 2008, 13).¹⁹⁷ The project of new economic exchange and cooperation that is to develop North Korean economy with South Korean management and know-how and North Korean manpower, is especially in the South Korean media, propagated as the rapprochement tool par excellence. Hardly taken notice of, prior to the land developments a joint Korean excavation team employed by the land developer worked together on an archaeological survey and excavation.

Differently, the cultural inter-Korean cooperation at Manwŏltae palace site in Kaesŏng's historical town had a higher profile. A particular pressing reason for this joint excavation was the preparation to designate Kaesŏng as a UNESCO World Heritage historic city. In the year 2000 the DPRK state party submitted the Kaesŏng site for the UNESCO world heritage tentative site that was still deferred in 2008 reconsidering if the sites hold significant and representative examples of the Koryŏ period.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile both Koreas joined forces with the first joint excavation on officially North Korean ground (KIZ being a special economic zone under lease of the ROK) under a policy act agreed on for unification politics in 2006. The inter-Korean cooperation in Kaesŏng was also the first to be mostly free of discourses against foreign interventions, territory and history claims, a place where they could bethink and work on their very own and shared problems.

After a brief description of the respective excavations, this Chapter explores the South Korean participants' perceptions of their working experience in Kaesŏng and of their North Korean colleagues based on public excavation reports as well as informal interviews and questionnaires (Sample attached in Appendix 2). The questionnaires are supposed to further supplement the cultural language discourse and heritage value observed in the documentary research. The first set of questions covered the organizational structure of inter Korean cooperation, the functional laws and techniques that were considered in the planning and on site. A second set of questions

¹⁹⁷ The KIZ is built and paid for by South Korean companies with governmental sponsorship with interest in short transport ways, cheap labour and economic exchange and political cooperation with North Korea. North Korea in turn receives currency for the land lease and through the wages.

¹⁹⁸ In the year 2000 *Historical Relics in Kaesŏng* were submitted on the Tentative List in order to qualify for inclusion in the World Heritage List, <http://www.worldheritagesite.org/sites/t1423.html>.

was more of an interpretative nature trying to illuminate the motivation behind personal participation, the joint excavation site choice, evaluation of the site prior to the excavation and of the later finds made. Lastly, the professional and individual value and experience of North-South Korean cooperation is tested, asking for the lasting memories and personal anecdotes taken back home.

In the end these practical experiences of the previously theorised use of cultural exchange for political rapprochement (cf. section II.II) will be compared and analysed to define some of the advantages and flaws of inter-Korean cultural cooperation and exchange.

Table 1: Comparative table to the two Korean joint excavations in and around Kaesŏng

Joint excavation	Manwŏltae	KIZ
Organisational bodies	N: People's Reconciliation Committee, National Culture conservation directory, Archaeological Research Institute S: North-South Korean Historian Committee, Cultural Heritage Administration, National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage	N: KIZ general directory, Archaeology Research Institute under the Academy of Social Science S: Korea Land Corporation, Hyundai Asan
Location	Kaesŏng city, Songak-dong, Koryŏ palace Manwŏltae, western part (30.000 m ²)	6 km south-east of Kaesŏng in KIZ
Time	2007, May 15- July 13; 2008, 2010	2004, April 20- May 6, June 24- July 31
Relics	Ground survey and excavation Koryŏ period Architectural structures and remains	Ground survey and excavation. Wide range of space, periods and remains; from Paleolithic to Chosŏn burials, settlements and artifacts
Excavation team	various	N: 3 Pers/ 35 Pers S: 6 Pers/ 15 Pers
Cooperation	Joint efforts for historical site designation	Joint work and professional dialogue
Publication	Press report, Excavation report, media coverage (TV and newspapers)	Excavation report, used to be available as e-book (for 2 years), contributions by North and South Korean scholars; temporary exhibition

IV.III.1 KAESŎNG INDUSTRIAL ZONE (KIZ)

The KIZ is located 10km north of the Demilitarised Zone, and 70km from Seoul covering an area of more than 350 hectares or 3.5 square km. The complex is managed by Hyundai Asan Corporation, a South Korean company that leased the area from the DPRK and leading the project of the industrial zone, and the ROK state run land developer Korea Land Corporation (KLC).¹⁹⁹



Figure 68: Panel on the history of Hyundai's inter-Korean dialogue attached at the entry fences to the KIZ (Picture courtesy of Yu Pyŏnglin)

In a meeting in August 2000 between Hyundai Asan and North Korea regarding the plans for the KIZ, the need for a survey of the area's ancient relics was expressed (KLM 2005, 47). Startled by ROK media, for instance the article sarcastically titled 'There are no ancient remains in Kaesŏng's blueprint' (Song Kiho in *Chosŏn Ilbo*, 2000.09.10), reports of archaeologists and historians that gathered opinion papers in support of the recovery of

¹⁹⁹ It is a fifty year lease contract that started on the 1 December 2002 and lasts until 1 December 2052. An enlarged copy of the document decorated next to other colourful panels on the history of Hyundai's inter-Korean dialogue, the entry fences to the KIZ.

historical remains prior the land development. This urged for an archaeological survey of the construction area. Furthermore, although the DPRK land was only leased by the ROK company, there was a tendency to act as if it lay in the ROK, and thus it would be necessary to conduct an archaeological survey, and if needed rescue archaeology, prior to development, in accordance with South Korean *Cultural Properties Protection Law* (문화재보호법, articles 62 and 91).



Figure 69: KIZ 1st phase development joint rescue excavation area between Kaesŏng town and the DMZ (Hyundai Asan)

Consequently, a survey was initiated in the KIZ prior to the start of land developments in April 2004. The Korea Land Corporation, which deals with construction projects in the whole of the ROK, has its own archaeological department (the Land Museum of Korea, LMK 한국토지공사 토지박물관 founded in 1997) to conduct archaeological work before construction. The results of archaeological rescue excavations are organised, published and displayed in the ‘Land Museum of Korea’, which is situated in the south of Seoul. As the Korea Land Corporation is a close partner of the Hyundai Asan Corporation, it seemed a logical consequence that the LMK was provided the archaeological work and conducted an initial land survey.

Then the LMK asked the North Korean side to cooperate on excavations. The initiative came from the South, probably to promote the KIZ's image and to enhance the public image of the KIZ's qualities as a symbol for positive inter-Korean engagement (Yu Pyönglin 21 Oct 2010). All the planning communication was channelled via the already established coordination and management office of the KIZ, the easiest choice for the LMK, as it is part of the building development procedure (conversation with the LMK curator Ms Jeong Na-Ri (Chöng Nari) and team leader Kim Söngjun, 7 April 2009).



Figure 70: DPRK archaeologists at the preparation meeting 12th April 2004. From left to right: Chi Hwasan²⁰⁰, Ri Ch'angöñ, Ri Sinhyo, Ri Ch'angjin (LMK 2005)



Figure 71: 20 April 2004 'chipyo chosa', evaluating and agreeing on excavation areas. In the centre with the black cap and glasses is Ri Ch'angöñ.

Finally, a joint Korean excavation team was organised that consisted of a South Korean team, led by the Land Museum of Korea,²⁰¹ and a North Korean team, led by the Archaeology Research Institute (ARI 사회과학원 고고학연구소) of the Academy of Social Science

²⁰⁰ An article by Kim Ung (2008) introduces the young archaeologist Dr Chi Hwasan and his successful work. In his 30s, the office head is a young archaeologist (graduated in 1993 twenty-three years old, and received his doctorate at the age of 33 with the dissertation title *Relics from 'Tip-Bowl-Period' settlements* 팽이그릇시기 집자리유적에 관한 연구 [end of 4000 BCE- end 2000 BCE, ROK Bronze Age]) who teaches a new generation of archaeologists. Next to international cooperation abroad (in Russia), he participated in joint Korean excavations at the Singye temple in Mt Kūmgang-san (restored in 2007) and the Kaesöng Industrial Zone in 2004 in the DPRK. 'If it snows or rains, he constantly worked on excavations in service of his love of the fatherland.'

²⁰¹ LMK participants of the surface research were (interview/questionnaire contributors in fat print): Kim Sangik, **Kim Söngjun**, Yun U'jun, Kim Chuhong, **Ch'oi Hyönggyun** and Kim Ch'ungbae. LMK participants for the excavation were all the above and further: Sim Kwangju, **Jeong Na-Ri** (Chöng Nari), Ūn Yöngsön, Lee Chunho, Im Pogyöng and Song Manyöng (Kyöngido Museum), **Yu Pyönglin** (Korea Institute of Heritage), **Lee Söngwon** (Kijon Cultural Property Research Centre 경기문화재단 기전문화재단연구원) and **Yun Söngyöng** (Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation). Kim Sangik and Ch'oi Hyönggyun were the South Korean representatives for inter Korean consultations during the excavation.

(ASS).²⁰² On 12 and 13 April 2004 LMK and ARI head members met to discuss the procedure and method of the excavation, and to agree on the focus areas for the first surveys (Figure 70). After a detailed agreement of the excavation procedures, the first field survey started on 20 April and lasted two weeks until 6 May (Figure 71). After this, twelve areas for excavation were agreed upon. On 7 and 8 June another meeting followed between the leading members of the Kaesŏng Development Bureau of the Korea Land Corporation and the LMK from the Southern side, and the Central Patriot Committee of Special Development (중앙특구개발지도총국) and the ARI, from the Northern side. During these the previously agreed excavation areas were confirmed, and the excavation period manpower and materials contributed by each party decided. Furthermore it regulated that the members were in equal parts responsible for the management of the finds on site, method and practice, and negotiating any possible problems that arose (LMK 2005, 51). The two excavation teams, from the LMK and ARI, discussed and organised the distribution of archaeologists and the respective excavation steps for the various sites on 23 June 2004. It was decided that work would only stop on raining days and that the normal working day would be from 8am until 6.30pm, with a lunch break that could be two hours on particular hot days.



Figure 72: Inauguration ritual of the joint excavation of the KIZ's cultural relics. The banner reads: 'Kaesŏng Industrial Zone Cultural Relic Scholarly Research Group' (LMK 2005)

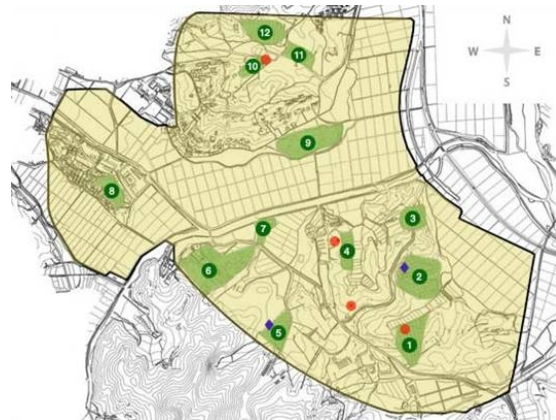


Figure 73: The KIZ areal with its 12 surface survey areas and individual excavation spots (LMK 2005)

²⁰² ARI participants for the surface research were: Ri Ch'angŏn known for his research on Kaesŏng, Ri Ch'angjin ('skinny and a quiet, sincere character') and Chi Hwasan. For the excavation the above and the following participated: Son Suho, Ch'oi Ŭngsŏn, Ch'a Talman, Ko Yŏngnam, Kim Kyŏngsam, the Kaesŏng Koryŏ tomb specialist Kim Inch'ŏl, Chang Hyŏnho, Kim Taeyŏng, Kim Ch'angho, Kim Yŏnggil, Kim Namil, Chang Ch'ŏlman. These fifteen archaeologists were supported by further twenty workers, totalling to 35 persons. (LMK 2005, 28)



Figure 74: Some of KIZ constructions just next to one of the excavation areas (see beside) (LMK 2005)



Figure 75: Aerial view of excavation area indicated on the left picture with seven burials. (LMK 2005)

By mid-June the Northern team had already managed to recruit the agreed number of 35 workers, along with its three senior professors and seven researchers. The Southern team, with their 6-7 members, were busy organising and installing equipment. After a brief offering ritual the excavation started on 14 June and lasted until 31 July 2004. Pressed for time, the LMK had recruited four further archaeologists from other South Korean institutions. The last, Yu Pyŏnglin from the Korea Institute of Heritage and Lee Sŭngwon from the Kijon Cultural Property Research Centre, arrived on 5 July to support the group. The archaeologists were spread on the remaining two sites, according to their specialities; site No 2 with Neolithic dwellings and site 5 with settlements dating to the Koryŏ period. The other areas were mostly burials, from different periods.

Unfortunately erosion, caused by the clear-cuttings to feed the endemic firewood shortage in the North, meant that there were relatively few traces of in-situ archaeology (Yu Pyŏnglin, 21 October 2010).

Although the relationship was not really comfortable [being unaccustomed to each other and the situation of inter-Korean contact], in field the cooperation was friendly. It was generally kept quite formal and mainly focused on agreeing excavation methods (Yun Sŏngyŏng, 27 Oct 2010).

Among themselves, the Pyongyang archaeologists seemed to look a bit down on the archaeologists from Kaesŏng (Yu Pyŏnglin, 21 October 2010).

Lee Sŭngwon (2004, 314), who joined the group a little later, reports how he was approached while at work by a ‘North Korean colleague in his early 50s wearing a Mao style jacket and a

cap' who introduced himself as Mr Sun Soho, from the ARI. Mr Sun oversaw the particular site until the North Korean team's departure. The team from the LMK thought that the archaeologists from the ARI were excavating rather fast. Lee Sŭngwon (2004, 316) recalls that 'Mr Sun's philosophy was that only three days was required to expose a whole site (no 5)'.

The excavations proceeded quickly, due to the labour support, the relatively few finds and the continuous work without rest days. Considering that only one site (No 5) had to be excavated and another finalised (No 2), the large number of people in the Northern team were not really needed and the Southern team leaders agreed to their withdrawal. By 10 July only two North Korean archaeologists remained at the joint excavation in the KIZ (LMK 2005, 53).²⁰³ Then, unexpectedly, architectural structures were found on site No 5: the excavation of which was deferred, as most people were engaged protecting it from a major mudslide caused from heavy summer rain.

In addition, there were some instances of theft. Lee Sŭngwon (2004, 315) reports how site No 5 was prepared for shoring work, but the next morning all of the wooden materials had disappeared and the work had to be redone. Later the archaeologists from the ARI, visibly embarrassed by the incident, joined to help. The most senior among them was 'Ri Ch'angjin, a quiet and sincere character with a lean body' (Lee Sŭngwon 2004, 315).

Different prioritisation in archaeological practice

Most of the North Korean workers were inexperienced archaeologists, and many things, from the excavation methods to the use of different and more advanced equipment, were new. However, they learnt quickly and worked diligently (Lee Sŭngwŏn 2004, 317).

The North Korean excavation practice was quite different to that of the South. In the North, leading archaeologists tended to oversee the excavation while the bulk of the physical work is done by inexperienced or uneducated workers. Additionally many archaeologists noted a few differences in archaeological prioritisation.

²⁰³ Yu Pyŏnglin (21 October 2010) also reports that many North Koreans suffered severe diarrhoea after using the local water and therefore were exempt of work.

The North is less interested in larger architectural structures, but more in unearthing artefacts which might potentially become national treasures: and for this they should not be older than the Koryŏ period. With the Chosŏn period burials, for example, the North Korean archaeologists could not understand why they should bother excavating them (Lee Sŭngwŏn 2004, 315; Yun Sŏngyŏng 27 October 2010; Ch'oi Hyŏnggyun 4 November 2010).

Ch'oi Hyŏnggyun guesses that their lack of familiarity with structures might be due to a lack of large funded excavation projects in the North. I believe, however, that it has more to do with the State's evaluation of cultural properties that excludes the Chosŏn period of its prided national treasure list. Official DPRK history mostly disregards the Chosŏn period due to the presumed 'reactionary character' of prevailing Neo-Confucianism as well as 'flunkeyism' towards China.²⁰⁴

Furthermore, individual artefacts make better news: they are more easily recognised by the public as 'treasures'. Even the few news pieces in ROK media about on the joint excavation focused on the excavated Koryŏ period iron and bronze objects (e.g. Figure 76).



Figure 76: The article in the South Korean daily Seoul Sinmun (2004.08.17) considers the KIZ site as a museum of ancient artefacts and pictures an iron bull excavated from the Koryŏ period settlement site, plot No5. Other newspapers of the same day also focus on the discovered Koryŏ and Stone Age period artefacts

The LMK excavation report (2005) mentions some heated debates about the evaluation of the finds: in North Korean regulations (Cultural Relics Conservation Law No 13) a historical relic

²⁰⁴ Vladimir Tikhonov points out that these DPRK attitudes are partly inherited from modern Korea's early nationalists like Sin Ch'aeho, who made the idea of Korea's degrading past popular.

identified as being of significant value would have required an interruption of the excavation and involvement of higher North Korean cultural organizations (Kim Sang-ik 2005, 48). The joint Korean heritage policy is limited to supportive actions excluding any harmonization of cultural heritage laws. Nevertheless, dialogue and agreement among the archaeologists testify to a positive deliberative process.



Figure 77: Measuring and drawing together during the first survey at a burial site (LMK 2005, Figure 299)

In addition, the contributions by North and South Korean scholars in the final excavation report (LMK 2005) show how they were dealing with their sometimes differing archaeological and historical terms, and periodisation. For example, in contrast to their neighbours in the south and the international community, North Koreans use a periodisation of history, *orŭn*, introduced under Kim Il Sung, that derived from a Marxist-Leninist approach of the ‘scientific analysis of interconnections between economic forms and classes at every stage of historical development’ (Chŏn 1960, 283). Given the significance of historical periodisation in heritage studies, often used to underline ideological narratives, the recent joint Korean excavation report provides an excellent example of new steps to compromise, if not necessarily conformity, while acknowledging diverse periodisation terms in the two Korean states. So, for instance, South Koreans refer to ‘Unified Silla’, whereas their North Korean colleagues call it ‘Late Silla’.²⁰⁵ When mentioning this period, contributors from both

²⁰⁵ ‘Unified Silla’ (668-935) is the historical period that antedates the Koryŏ period (918-1392) that made Kaesŏng its capital. North Koreans reject calling it ‘unified’ on the grounds that the Silla kingdom conquered the two other Korean kingdoms with foreign, namely Chinese Tang support and because these three kingdoms did not quite cover the whole territorial space of the Korean peninsula to the north. On the comparison of historical

sides note this different usage with a reference to the opposing term in the footnotes (e.g. LMK 2005, 37, 41). This demonstrates not only a knowledge of this diversity, but also an acknowledgement of it; a willingness to compromise in a joint publication.

Differentiation between people and state

At the end of the excavation, part of the LMK team remained for another month to manage and document the site, and prepare for the excavation report (LMK 2005, 53). Yu Pyŏnglin recalls during this time the following episode:

From our site we were able to observe a large number of trucks (around forty a day) loading rice from the trains terminating at Pongdong station. The rice (100,000 tons) was sent by South Korean as aid to the North under the ROK *Sunshine Policy*.⁷ In mid-August [2004], I asked a North Korean labourer I was working with what came to mind seeing the rice that had been coming in from the South for more than a week. He replied that ‘the South Korean people and government always wish to give something to us, due to our General (Kim Jong Il)’s great leadership. This left me dumbstruck. It is ridiculous. I wonder if North Korean people really think like this or if it is just a repetition of memorised North Korean teachings. I cannot understand this. I thought of myself to be a man with progressive ideas, but the experience of working in North Korea was a big shock and I can see changes in myself to become a man with more conservative ideas (Yu Pyŏnglin, 21 October 2010).

This example suggests that inter-Korean cooperation, promoted as a way to reduce tension and promote peace, may also backfire and become a vehicle to harden opinions and raise hostility. Notwithstanding further similar episodes, Yu Pyŏnglin concedes that he immediately felt that these replies were much influenced by Pyongyang and give less of a general impression of North Korea but rather it is ‘only propaganda for one dictator and a chosen few’. This exemplifies a repeated phenomenon of mental distinction, between the people in general and the State made responsible for the people’s indoctrination.

understanding and periodisation cf. Sin Hyŏngsik 2001, *Korean traditional culture and sense of history* (Hanguk chŏnt’ong munhwa-wa yŏksa ūisik), Seoul: Samjiwŏn.

Life on site

At the end of the day there was some chance to exchange a few words and jokes. Yet, the brief conversations could not be extended or continued in the time off (Lee Sŭngwon 2004, 315). This was due to the different accommodation allotted to the North and South Korean teams. The accommodation of the Northern team was in an agricultural school, in the Pongdong-myŏn district, outside the KIZ. The Southern team was accommodated in containers within the fenced area of the KIZ (Figure 78). Their free time in the evenings was spent walking, taking photographs, cleaning, and writing up (Lee Sŭngwŏn 2004, 315). These activities were restricted to the confines of the fenced area, around 800 square metres, and the areas outside the accommodation were always monitored by one of the attendants (from Pyongyang, State Security Department), just like at work on site (Ch'oi Hyŏnggyun 4 November 2010; Yu Pyŏnglin 21 October 2010).



Figure 78: Accommodation in containers inside the KIZ fenced area (LMK 2005)

The excavation output

By the end of the excavation the North Korean side invited the South Korean excavation team under the lead of the LMK for another joint excavation in preparation of the planned 2nd KIZ development zone. That invitation could not be accepted, according to Ms Jeong, because of the rising political tensions and border crossing problems (interview with Ms Jeong on 7 April 2009).



Figure 79: Temporary exhibition of Kaesŏng KIZ excavated artefacts in the Land Museum of Korea in August 2007: Stone coffin, iron tripod bowl, pottery and tiles

Despite the rather successful joint excavation activity, dissemination of its results has been rather limited. Some of the excavated material from the KIZ first phase was exhibited, along with other objects related to the KIZ, in the Land Museum in 2007 (Figure 79). The concept of the exhibition was to show the harmony of cultural heritage preservation and land development. In an interesting approach, the excavated material was displayed alongside commercial products, like pots and clothing, from the newly operating KIZ factories (Figure 80). This linkage underpins the close relationship of Hyundai Asan's commercial land development and the rescue archaeology of the Land Corporation. With the exception of two, the North Korean books on display were unrelated to the site or Kaesŏng: they were more souvenirs from the 'brother state', offering a glimpse at the DPRK's historiography (Figure 81).



Figure 80: Cooking pots and clothes, products from the factories in the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone exhibited alongside the excavated historical artefacts



Figure 81: Contemporary DPRK novels based on historical and legendary heroes



Figure 82: Contemporary DPRK books on Kaesŏng; the left one about cultural history and material heritage and the right one a collection of legends connected to Kaesŏng

To my surprise, finding and reaching the museum was quite a task: few people seem to know of its existence. Accessibility to the museum is further hindered as it is closed on Sundays and holidays, the days' ordinary Korean people would have the time to visit it. The results of the first joint excavation are therefore largely unknown to the public. The same factors that helped to enhance the Korean interaction on site - the excavation's less official and public nature; the limited and mainly unspectacular nature of finds - seem to now stand in the way of disseminating the symbolic value of the activity and its finds due to limited access to a temporary exhibition and little media coverage.

Introduction

Between 18-21 November 2005 forty-four South Korean scholars²⁰⁶ were invited to take part in a South-North joint Korean scholarly meeting and viewing of relics in Kaesŏng, as part of the preparation for Kaesŏng's designation as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site. For many of the South Korean scholars the occasion was a 'dream come true to see the originals' of their research (Pak Chongjin 2006, 208).²⁰⁷ It was during this meeting that an excavation of the ancient palace grounds was proposed.

The 'Kaesŏng historic area North-South Joint excavation' on the Manwŏltae palace grounds was officially agreed on during the 17th (13-16 Dec 2005) and 18th (21-24 April 2006) inter-Korean ministerial meetings, through presentations by the *Council of North and South Korean Historians* and the northern National Reconciliation Committee *Minjok hwahae hyŏpŭihoe*. The incentive for this excavation was stated as 'a joint effort guided by a shared patriotism in preparation for the designation process of Kaesŏng as UNESCO World Heritage- Historic City' (NRICH 2008, 2).

It was to be the first official joint excavation of South and North Korea and an activity promoted under the Ministry of Unification's 'Exchange and Cooperation Act'. In February-March 2006 a decision for the joint excavation at Manwŏltae palace was finally made under the

²⁰⁶ The meeting was called *Kaesŏng yŏksachigu-ŭe segyemunhwayusandŭnglok-ŭl uihan nambukgongdomghaksult'oronhoe* (세계문화유산 등재 지원을 위한 남북공동학술회의). Out of the total number of ca 50 North and South Korean participants, the Korean History Research Group was presented with six participants (Pak Chongjin 2006, 208). Then there were participants from the Cultural Heritage Administration. Other individuals from the South were: Sŏ Sŏnggho, Kim Yŏngmi (ICOMOS Korea), Hwang Kiwŏn, No Myŏnggho, Chŏng Haksu. Then there was the director of the National Palace Museum So Chaegu. North Korean participants from the *Munhwa Pojon Chidoguk* were Ri Kiung, Kim Myŏngch'ŏl ('good drinker and sociable'), Pyŏn Ryongmun (who were also all involved in the UNESCO designation of the Koguryŏ tombs, and now prepare for Kaesŏng's designation), from the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum director Kim Kyŏngsun and curator Ri Oklan, from the *Minhwahyŏp* Vice-president Pak Kyŏngch'ŏl, Kim Ki'muk, Kim Punhŭe, Kim Ch'ŏlnam, Hong Sunmi, No Hŭech'ŏl. and the two scholars famous for their Kaesŏng research from the Archaeological Research Institute of the Academy of Social Science Ri Ch'angŏn and Kim Inch'ŏl. Kam Hŭngi. Unfortunately Chŏn Ryongch'ŏl famous for his writing on the Kaesŏng fortress and city wall was not part of the meeting (to the surprise of the South Korean participants).

²⁰⁷ This trip was shortly after followed up by the historical visiting exhibition of 'Treasures from the Pyongyang Central History Museum' in South Korea in 2006.

leadership of the South Korean *National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage* (NRICH) and the North Korean *Cultural Protection Agency Bureau* 문화보존지도국. The joint excavation started on the 15 May 2007 and lasted for 55 days.²⁰⁸

The director of the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, Kim Bongkŏn, stated that the joint efforts North and South Koreans were needed in order to convey their cultural heritage and its meaning on an international level (Hankoryeh 2006). Interestingly, when questioned about the purpose and reason behind the excavation, all the participating archaeologists from the South I interviewed did not mention the joined effort to designate the palace site as a UNESCO World Heritage site. Rather, they seem to have seen the collaboration of historians on a common subject as a logical development, following improved political and economic relations between the two Korean governments. Nam Ch'anggŭn, one of the archaeological team, added that the Koryŏ royal palace site was the centre of the capital and was symbolic of the time the Korean peninsula was unified (email reply from 22 November 2010).

The Koryŏ palace site Manwŏltae (National Treasure 122), also known as Hwangsŏng,²⁰⁹ was first built in the second year of T'aejo's reign, in 919 CE. It had been the royal palace until after 1361 when the court moved to the Such'anggun Palace under King Kongmin. Due to many fires, including at least four major ones, and subsequent rebuilding and extensions, the palace layout, dimensions and building style was constantly changed. This also explains the difficulty in indicating the location of individual edifices of the palace complex: their names and use, recorded in documents, changed (Han Yongkŏl 1994). Even the now much used name 'Manwŏltae' for the palace complex is a very late name originating from the Chosŏn period document 'Sinchŭngdongguk yŏjisŭnglam' from 1530 and only appeared after the palace's destruction (NRICH 2002, 26).

²⁰⁸ Korean Cultural Heritage Administration. *Kaesŏng Koryŏ Kungsŏng yuchŏk palgulchosa kicha charyo* (Press release on the excavation of Kaesŏng's Koryŏ royal palace relics)

²⁰⁹ The image of the palace also became popular with the 1920s hit song 'Hwangsŏng y'ett'o'. The basic lyric line is: '황성옛터에 밤이 되니 월색만 고요해/ 폐허에 서린 회포를 말하여 주노라/ 아 가엾다 이 내 몸은 그 무엇 찾으려고/ 끝없는 꿈의 거리를 헤매여 있노라' (*Yonhap News*, 2007.05.18)

Background to the Manwŏltae Palace Table 1: Basic timeline of Manwŏltae Palace

919 (T'aejo 2)	Manwŏltae Palace Foundation	1179 (Myŏngjong 9)	Extension
1011 (Hyŏnjong 2 ²¹⁰)	Fire during the Mongol Invasion	1225 (Kochong 12)	Fire destruction
During Hyŏnjong reign	Rebuilding and Extension	1232 (Kochong 19)	Move of the capital to Kanghwado
1126 (Injong 4)	Destruction followed from disloyal movement and revolt	1270 (Wonjong 11)	Extension
1132 (Injong 10)	Rebuilding and extension	1362 (Kongmin 11)	Destruction through Honggeon revolt
1171 (Myŏngjong 1)	Fire destruction	After 1362	Abandonment of the palace and move to Such'anggun Palace

The palace site encompasses a number of buildings and architectural structures inside the palace walls. Unlike many other palaces' layouts, the sequence of buildings within the palace complex is not linear.²¹¹ A Song Chinese document of visiting envoys, the *Koryŏ Tokyŏng* 高麗圖經, described the particular layout of Kaesŏng's capital palace: the palace buildings are said to follow in their disposition the distinct geographical features of the natural environment.

The palace complex is divided in three areas (Figure 87). The first, central, one, on a south-north axis, includes the Sinbong-mun Gate 神鳳門, the Ch'anhab-mun Gate 閭闔門, the 33 step stairway, Hoikyŏng-jŏn Hall 會慶殿, Changhwa-jŏn Hall 長和殿 up to the Wŏndŏk-jŏn Hall 元德殿. The second palace area was dedicated to the Crown Prince, the Chwach'un'gung 左春宮, and lies to the east of the first. Further south, and 130 metres east of Manwŏltae's

²¹⁰ In the long history of the palace site it suffered many damages, especially of fire due to internal and external power struggles. When scholar-official Kim Ch'i-Yang 金致陽 burned the royal palace, threatening to kill the king and take over, King Mokjong called General Kangjo (康兆 974 - 1010) to the capital city of Kaesŏng. The general immediately executed Kim Chi-Yang and his supporters. Then, the scholar officials, enemies of Kangjo, spread rumours about a take over the government for himself. These reached the Emperor, who in turn planned to kill Kangjo. Kangjo heard of the conspiracy and his enemies, including the emperor killed. After assassinating King Mokjong, General Kang placed King Hyŏnjong on the throne.

²¹¹ However, the North Korean scholar Han Young-kŏl (Han 1995) analyses the distance between building elements and was able to create a symmetry scheme based on circles and triangles (Han 1995, 64 fig 2).

central area, historical sources suggest a now vanished man-made pond, the *Tongji* (Li Ch'angŏn 1999).

The third area is the so-called North-western building area, the name indicative of its position relative to the central palace area. It is interpreted, by some, as the leisure part of the palace.

Some previous surveys and excavations have taken place in the vast palace site. In 1933 the Japanese excavated a flat monkey-jar, with inlaid and gold-painted patterns, in the eastern area of the palace near a ginseng field (Korea National Museum 2008, 49). During an excavation 1958, 300m west of Sinbong-mun, a movable metal print letter (now in the Koryŏ Museum) was discovered. In 1973-74 the North-western building area and the palace wall were surveyed (Chŏng Ch'an-yŏng 1989) and its architecture explored (Chang Sang-ryŏl 1986 and 1988; Kaesŏng Palgulcho 1986). The northern central palace building Wŏndŏk-jŏn was researched in 1994 (Han Inho 1994).²¹²

The most extensive and detailed description of the palace site was by Ri Ch'angŏn's (2002, 13-41), undertaken in preparation of a planned reconstruction of the most central and prominent building site of the Manwŏltae complex, the Hoeyegyŏng-jŏn 會慶殿. Despite this research, our understanding of the palace was still rather limited.²¹³

As early as the 1980s it was planned to be reconstructed to hold the Koryŏ Museum, as suggested by the late Kim Il Sung. This idea was at first rejected, due to the poor state of the site after the Korean War. However, the idea lingered on, and new plans for its reconstruction are circulating. So far they have received the disapproval and discouragement of the South Korean archaeologists.

²¹² In 2006, news reported of the North Korean discovery of the palace site of Kim Kungye's capital Ch'ŏlwŏn dated immediately prior to the construction of Manwŏltae palace, inside the DMZ. Its finds and architectural structure could give valuable new insides about the development and comparison of the palace structure (*Yonhap News* 2006.02.07). There has been a proposition from the South Korea (the Archaeological research Institute to jointly excavate the Ch'ŏlwŏn palace site inside the DMZ, but the UN whose permission is needed due to the location in the demilitarized zone, had not answered the request (interview with Mr Park in Kyŏngbokgung, 1 May 2009). This unfortunate fate for ambitious joint Korean archaeological work is not singular. The same happened to a proposed T'ongilgwan excavation in the Paju area.

²¹³ U Sŏnghun and Yi Sanghae 2006. 고려정궁 내부 배치의 복원연구, 건축역사연구 15(3): 59-79. This article gives a summary of Manwŏltae research on disposition and reconstructions from late Chosŏn to the DPRK era.

Excavations 1 and 2: May-July, and October-November 2007

Before commencing their trip to the North, South Korean archaeologists had to undergo a short three-hour preparation course at the Institute of Unification, on general behaviour and conduct while in the DPRK. The course focused mainly on language, which words and expressions to avoid and use (Park Sung Jin interviewed 1 May 2009). For example, was it agreed during preparatory talks between both parties to avoid nominal terms for Korea like *Chosŏn* (in the North) or *Hanguk* (in the South), and to use instead the more neutral geographical terms of Northern and Southern, *pukch'ŭk* and *namch'ŭk* (Yu Pyŏnglin, email response from 21 October 2010). As a result, the role of the archaeologists was not a purely professional one: they also served as political envoys, briefed prior their departure 'Northwards'.

Despite this the excitement and insecurity felt by the archaeologists before embarking on a stay in the North was huge. In order to give an impression of the atmosphere, I translate and summarise the experience reported by the head of the South Korean excavation team, Lee Sangjun from the NRICH.

Upon the arrival at the border's environmental management office greetings were briefly exchanged and the trip continued to the actual site. There was a trailer for the excavation equipment and a container acting as excavation site office. In order to arrive at the site, the trailer had to cross a narrow concrete bridge *Manwŏl-kyo* over the small river Kwangmyŏng-chŏn, just in front of the site of the palace's entrance gate Sinbongmun.



Figure 83: *Manwŏltae Palace stairways (east) with visitor group and foundation stones of Ch'angapmun Gate in the foreground*

Turning the trailer through a right angle to pass the bridge ruined a flanking pumpkin patch. After fixing the trailer on site, and eating a late lunch, the individuals of the South and North Korean excavation teams were introduced to each other. All the North Koreans participants were dressed in the same excavation work clothes. Especially memorable was the black hat with a white brim (nicknamed the 'penguin hat').²¹⁴

The next days, they started cleaning and weeding the site.



Figure 84: North Korean archaeologists wearing Penguin hats



Figure 85: The inauguration ceremony for the joint North-South Korean excavation at the Kaesŏng palace site Manwŏltae (Pak Chŏngghyŏn 2006.06.22²¹⁴)

On 18 May, the southern guests were taken through the ancient palace site by a guide in traditional costume. With the visit of key personnel from both South and North Korea the official excavation opening ceremony was held. Pak Kyŏngch'ŏl, vice-chairman of the DPRK National Reconciliation Committee, and Ri Ŭihwa, vice-director of the Cultural Preservation Administration Bureau (문화보존관리국), welcomed the southern guests and encouraged their participation in the joint excavation.

²¹⁴ http://icpn.co.kr/CPN/CultureNews/ArticleRead.asp?kind_code=2&idx=614

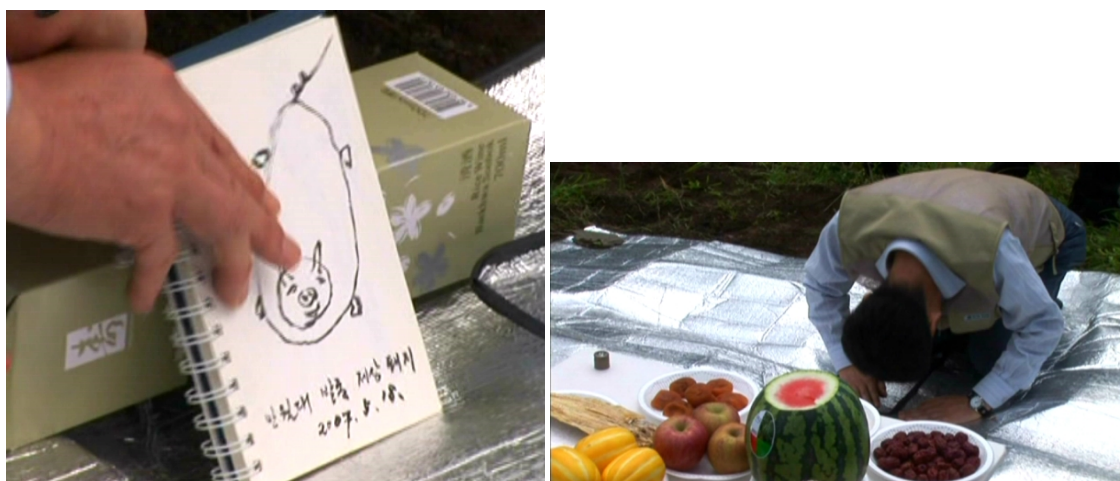


Figure 86: Spontaneous drawing titled 'Manwŏltae excavation inauguration ritual pig, 2007.5.18' (Screenshot of MBC Documentary Special)

The ceremony included a simple ritual offering: given the lack of a real pig's head, it was replaced by a drawing of a pig by one of the South Korean participants (Figure 86). However, as the North Koreans consider this *koyuche* ritual as idolatry they did not take part. Then finally, it was time to begin the historic excavation. (Lee Sangjun 2007)

The joint excavation concentrated on the north-western part (around 30,000 m²) of the site, with the aim to investigate the architectural structure and layout of the palace walls and its extension. Curiously for a joint excavation, however, the area and team were split into a northern and southern part; the former ironically allocated to the South Korean professionals.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ The South Korean excavation team members were (interviewees or questionnaire respondents in bold): Ch'oi Maengsik. Lee Sangjun (Excavation Leader), Pak Sŏng-jin (**Park Sung Jin**), **Nam Ch'anggŭn** from the NRICH. And further Hong Yŏngŭi (Kaegyŏng Research Group), Sŏ Pyŏngguk (Central Cultural Property Research Institute), Kim P'ansŏk, Lee Haesu (East Asia Cultural Property Research Centre), Ch'oi Kyujong, Kim Yŏjin, **Pak Tongson**, Chŏng T'aeil, and Ch'oi Hongŏp. The North Korean excavation team was made up of the following members: Kim Ŭnryong (Excavation Leader), Ryu Ch'ungsŏng, Kim Haeil, Song Chŏngkil, Kim Chonggil, Chŏng Sesŏng, Song Myŏngch'ŏl, Ri Ch'ŏljun, Pak Myŏngjin, Kim Hakyŏn, Kang Myŏngdo, An Yŏngch'ŏl, Kim Ilju, Lim Ryongsŏn, Chŏng Ch'ŏlmin, and Sin Hyŏnsuk from the Pyongyang Chosŏn Central History Museum and further from the Chosŏn Folk Museum Ri Chinu, Kim Yonggwang, Lo Namil. Kaesŏng based participants were Kim Ch'ŏlho, O Ch'unsam, Li Chŏngmin, Chŏng Pyŏngŭi and Li Ch'anghui from the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum and Ryu Kwansŏng, Yun Kwangjin from the Kaesŏng city Cultural Relic Management Office.

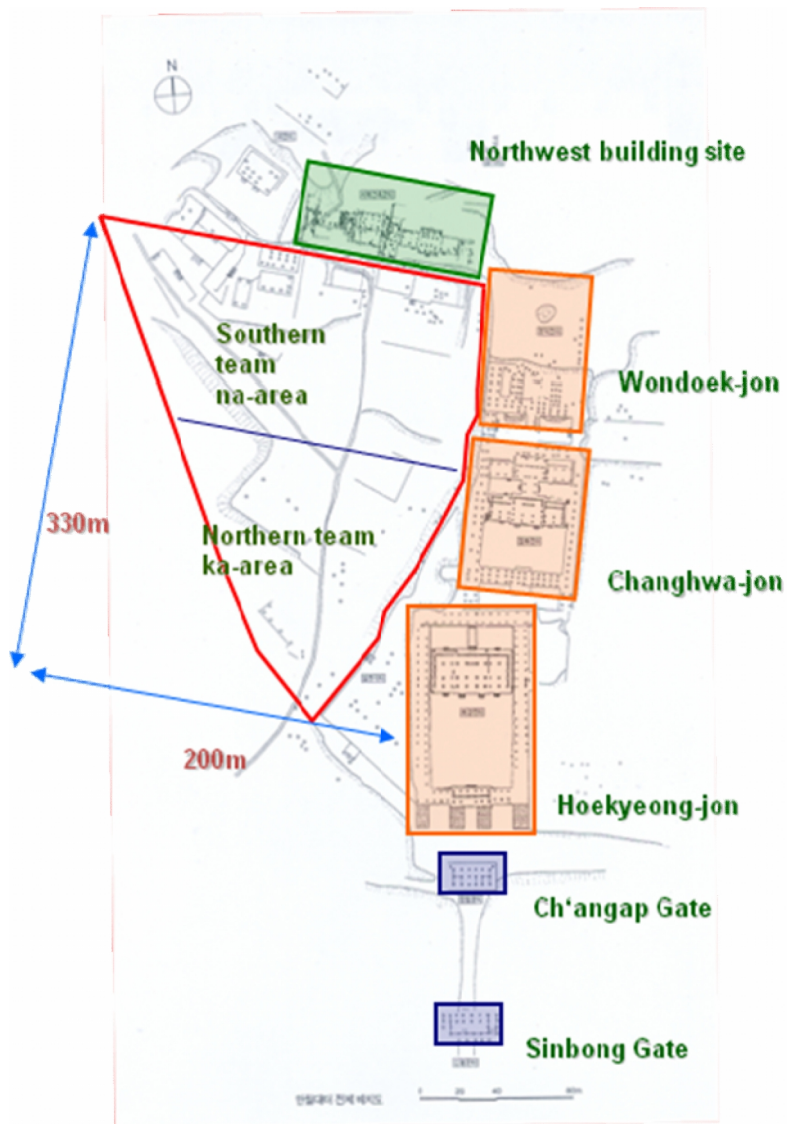


Figure 87: Ground plan and excavation area of the Manwŏltae site
Underlying map drawing, Ri Ch'angŏn 2002, 260

After the weeding operation the newly discovered scenery was a surprise and did not reflect the expected as introduced through images from DPRK construction drawings during the consultation process. Enormous pieces of masonry were uncovered under the weepers, as well as countless pieces of tiles and seven to eight flat plains were rowed each other upwards the hill. The idea arose that much could be unearthed. The first work to be done was to start with a 25m long trial trench (1m deep and 1m wide) to set a checkerboard pattern throughout the site.

A huge building site, building no 1, with its foundation stones oriented east-west was (47x13.7m) one of the first exciting discoveries. The building's ground map is shaped like the Chinese character '亞', and flanked to its side with water drainage channels.

When some of the archaeologists found a small relic in the trench, they expanded the trench's width slightly in order to quickly get a clear result. That independent action provoked some friction with the northern team. It was agreed on concentrating during this first excavation only on the general surface. Also the hierarchical system complicated the work. In the approved work area the southern team members were only allowed to communicate with authorised persons (e.g. Leader, secondary leader) of the northern team. This chain of command was further complicated by the diverse institutional affiliations of the Northern participants that created some difficulty for consistent work. Due to this experience during the first excavation the North Korean Reconciliation Council secretary and others created a mutual agreement on an improved equality in the chain of command (conversation with Park 2009).

Nevertheless, other participating archaeologists less involved in the joint decision making process felt that the excavation progressed rather smoothly due to inter-Korean team consultations (Nam Ch'anngŭn 2010), for instance on the respective excavation method. Further each team was in charge of its own excavation area of 5000 *p'yŏng* each (email reply from Pak Tongsŏn 3 December 2010).



Figure 88: Position of the stele foundation stone in the excavation's south-western area (NW3) © NRICH



Figure 89: Clearing the lotus flower shaped stele foundation stone © NRICH

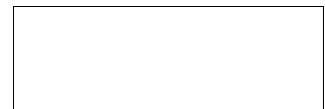
Twenty days into the excavation, on 6 June, the site teams were excited by the discovery of a huge lotus flower decorated foundation stone, which closely resembled that of the stone pagoda of the nearby Hūnguk-sa temple (DPRK national treasure relic no 132, now in the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum).

A site joint excavation meeting was undertaken to publicise and introduce the excavation results to a few invited ROK journalists and historians. This helped to dispel some of the distrust from the North Korean side that was existed since the earlier 'accidental' extension of the excavation.

On 11 June, a large wall that supported the platform for the buildings started to be cleaned and its upper surface surveyed.

From the end of June the artefacts were measured and analysed.

The most interesting objects were a 65cm high cylinder in celadon ware (Figure 91)²¹⁶ and around 120 inscribed roof tiles.²¹⁷ On 5



²¹⁶ Its shape is rather peculiar with both ends open. One explanation was that it might have been purely decorative and placed outside in the garden.

²¹⁷ 月盖, 赤項, 板積, 德水, the first 'wŏlgae' and third 'panjŏk' of which also appear in the Koryŏsa and are considered to be directly related. The first two characters might refer to the kiln, and the latter two to the names of the producer.

July, the on-site investigation was completed and the backfilling operation started.

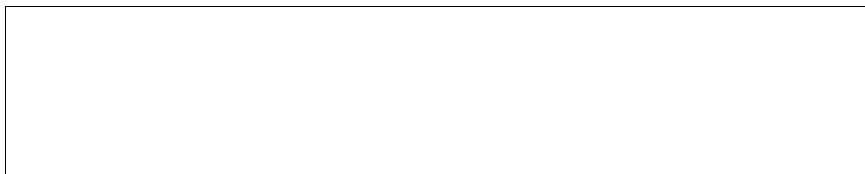


Figure 90: A rubbing taken from a ground stone excavated at Koryŏ's royal palace site Manwŏltae that shows the drawing for the Konu game board dated to the mid thirteenth century © NRICH



Figure 91: Cylindrical shaped celadon ware, 65 cm high © NRICH

One of the surprising finds during this first excavation was a board game (Figure 90). Lee Sangjun, from the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH), and the excavation leader of the Southern team, reports of the discovery of the 30cm² stone with incisions from building no 7: it is dated to the mid thirteenth century and is thought to be for the board game *Konu*.

On 11 July the planned excavation was completed and written reports from both sides exchanged. The last night in Kaesŏng, on 12 July, was spent in a restaurant in Kaesŏng. Having dinner, greetings and wishes for another meeting in the future were exchanged.²¹⁸ It was agreed by both sides that between 3 September and November 2007, building No 1, its drainage system, and the wall of the raised platform No 2, would be examined in more detail (Lee Sangjun 2009, 7).

²¹⁸ Lee Sangjun (NRICH) explains the excavation that took place from May to July 2007: http://www.tagstory.com/video/video_post.aspx?media_id=V000077912 (downloaded 2007.08.02)
A view on the areal of the Joint Korean excavation of the Kaesŏng Manwŏltae royal palace site: http://www.tagstory.com/video/video_post.aspx?media_id=V000078152

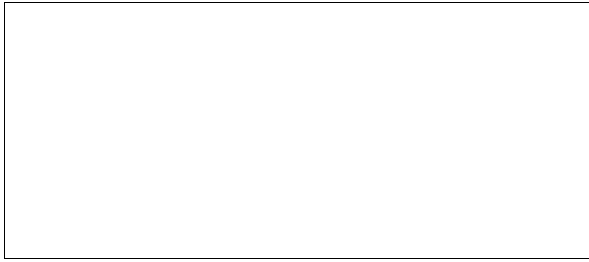


Figure 92: Cleaning some porcelain and tile sherds © NRICH

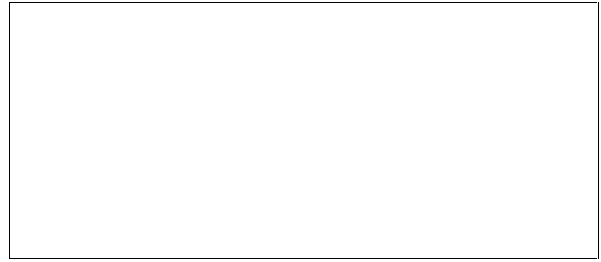


Figure 93: Working on trench 3 © NRICH

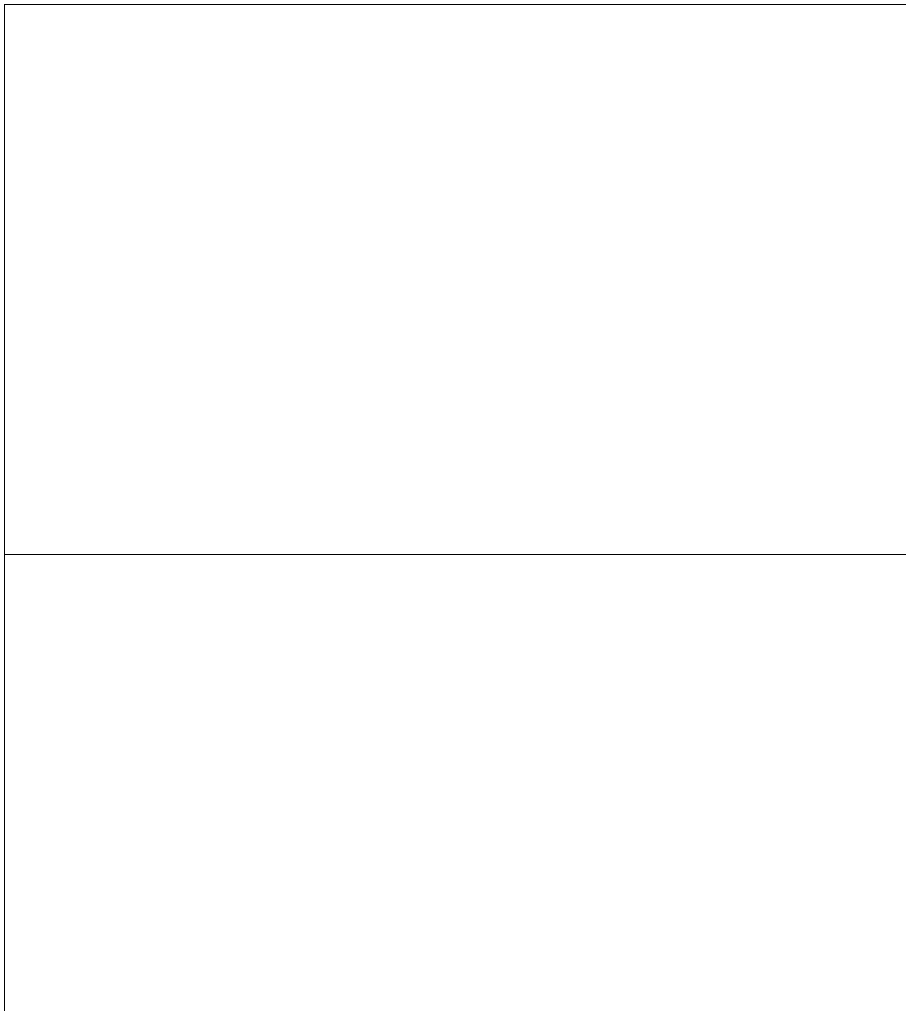


Figure 94: Photograph and Drawing of Building No17 (NRICH 2008, 248, 249)

South Korean scholars were thinking that this area was the inner palace hall Kyōngryōng-jōn 景靈殿 (where the portraits of the five predecessor kings T'aejo, Hyejong, Sōngjong, Hyōnjong and Munjong were placed for rituals). After removing the top soil level the building's ground plan was ascertained and revealed its dimensions (22.6x 10m, 5x3 k'an pillar intervals). On the northern side the five pillar intervals were emphasised with an additional row of pillars and ground platforms, indicating little niches that would coincide with the earlier assumption of the building being the Kyōngryōng-jōn (as described foremost in *Koryōsa* 99:12, 61:15; but also in other historical documents, such as Hong Yōngŭi 2009, 19-34).²¹⁹ It was also suggested that the function of venerating the five kings' portraits might be linked to the edifice's niches (Figure 94).

The South Korean Broadcaster MBC released a special documentary on the joint excavation at Manwōltae Palace (www.imbc.com), documenting the first two excavations and interviewing several of the professionals involved from North and South Korea on their last day (15 November 2007). Kim Ŭnlyong, the excavation leader of the North Korean team, remarked on the duties of the archaeologist for future generations: 'As we unearthed with a reappearing historical sense of duty our 500 year old history of the Koryō dynasty, we should devote all our efforts to continue with the excavation unearthing one relic after the other, so to make sure to have given our best for the nation and future generations.'

Two South Korean archaeologists comment positively on the outcome of the joint excavation. Park Sung Jin (NRICH) concluded that the most significant meaning of the joint venture was the sign of increased mutual trust. Without much explanation the South Korean excavation team proposed to the North that they 'have to do this [excavation]. We need this.' And the North Korean side answered 'Really? If you say so, we believe it.' Park Jinho (a South Korean team member) pointedly added that when saying 'Koryō', one of its meanings is that North and South Korea can be one. The first proof of this point has been the South and North Korean culture exchange at Manwōltae.

²¹⁹ Hong's article ('Koryō kungkwōlnae Kyōngryōng-jōn-ŭi kujo-wa unyong', in *hangukjungsesa yōn'gu-ŭi saeroun pangbōpron mosaek*, research series 74, Kukmin University, 2009, 19-34) researches historical documents, giving the original text und its Korean translation and analyses the information content on use, shape and location, as well as the differing building names in use.

Notably the overall stress was the bonding between the two Koreas, and the positive contribution of the scholarly work for rapprochement. However, these rosy coloured remarks for South Korean television are only one side of the coin. Curiously, and although no secret, the North Korean Governments' efforts to promote the site as a UNESCO World Heritage Site was left unmentioned; as was the prospect to include it in the DPRK lucrative tourism venture, that officially opened only two weeks later.

Excavation 3. Inter-Korean cooperation shattered?

The head of the ROK CHA (문화재청) Lee Kŏnmu and the head of the *Council of North and South Korean Historians* (남북역사학자협의회) Sŏ Chungsŏk announced the date for the third joint Korean excavation at Manwŏltae (4 November – 23 December 2008) with the words:

It is of great significance to widen the possibility of Korean cooperation based on the cultural consensus between the North and South Korean sides. The culture has been there since the beginning of our national history. We should follow the pulse of cultural heritage that forms an easily achieved consensus, overcoming the difference between the two Koreas over the political and economic interests.

One aim set for the third excavation was to further investigate Building No 17, thought to have served as a place for royal ancestor rituals, and the connection and disposition of its neighbouring buildings (*Daily Korea* 2008.11.06).



Figure 95: Sherds of celadon ware excavated from the royal palace site Manwŏltae

Just a week after the start of the third joint Korean excavation at the Manwŏltae Palace site, on 4 November 2008, the DPRK announced the closure of its borders for inter-Korean contact on 1 December. Relations between the two nations had disintegrated in the previous months. The conservative fronts in both governments came to the fore, signalling the end of mutual compromises and concerted reconciliation efforts as under the ROK's former 'Sunshine Policy.'

Repeated dropping of leaflets by South Korean activist groups came as a good reason to proclaim the announced interruption of intra-Korean border travel. The *Xinhua News Service* reported (2008.11.24) that the head of the DPRK delegation to the inter-Korean general-level military talks announced five measures on the bilateral ties with ROK. According to the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), the five measures, effective by 1 December, were:

1. The DPRK People's Army would selectively expel the resident personnel and vehicles of the institutions and enterprises concerned with the authorities in the Kaesŏng Industrial Zone (KIZ) and Mt. Kumgang tourist area and cut off their overland passages through the Military Demarcation Line (MDL).
2. It would totally suspend the tour of Kaesŏng by the ROK side's personnel now being conducted after their passage through the MDL in the portions on the West Coast under the control of the DPRK and the ROK.
3. It would discontinue the ROK's train service between Pongdong and Munsan and close the MDL in the region.
4. It would strictly restrict the passage of all personnel of the ROK side through the MDL to enter the KIZ and Mt. Kumgang tourist area under the name of visit and economic cooperation, etc.
5. More strict order and discipline would be enforced as regards the passage and entry into the KIZ and Mt. Kumgang tourist area and stringent sanctions applied against any violators of them.

Therefore, due to the cross-border closure beginning 1 December, the duration of the third joint excavation, planned to last until the end of year 2008, was shortened. However, a special request from the Pyongyang History Museum and the Kaesŏng Archaeological Team to finish the job resulted in the continuation of the project until 23 December, together with all South Korean personnel thanks to a special permission. This effort might well reveal the real value of cultural cooperation as stated in the inter-Korean joint agreement. Cultural cooperation goes beyond political or economic cooperation, as it is not built on differences but commonality. It is true that the DPRK's preparation for Kaesŏng as a UNESCO World Heritage site was also pressed for time, so other options were not in their interest. The end of the excavation did not mark the end of work: Pyongyang scholars undertook 3D pictures of the relics (1 May 2009, Interview with Park Sung Jin).

At the invitation of the DPRK Government, the Director- General of UNESCO, Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, undertook his second official visit to the DPRK from 10 to 12 September 2008. In a meeting with the Minister of Culture, Mr Kang Nung Su, they discussed the World Heritage nomination of the 'Historic Monuments and Sites in Kaesŏng'. The nomination was examined by the World Heritage Committee in Quebec, Canada (July 2008). Mr Matsuura explained that, in light of the ICOMOS and World Heritage Committee's recommendations, UNESCO would shortly send an expert field mission to DPRK, to work closely with the authorities in preparing a revised nomination file. Noting a growing interest in DPRK intangible cultural heritage, Mr Matsuura observed that DPRK's eventual ratification of the 2003 Intangible Heritage

Convention would pave the way for a new partnership (UNESCO 2008). As before, in the case of the Koguryŏ complex designation, the prospect of having Kaesŏng listed on the UNESCO World Heritage list politically raised the incentive for continuing the joint Korean excavation of Kaesŏng's ancient palace site.

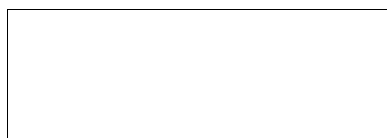


Figure 96: Rubbings from inscribed roof tiles © NRICH Lee Sangjun

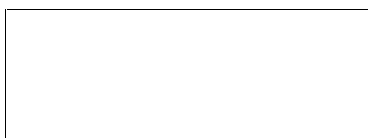


Figure 97: Togiryu crockery © NRICH Lee Sangjun

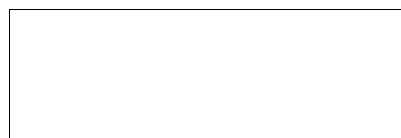


Figure 98: Yongdu and chabsang clay roof tile figurines © NRICH Lee Sangjun

Excavation 4: March-May 2010

In March 2010 eleven archaeologists from the NRICH teamed up again with their DPRK counterparts. Although mentioning the archaeological success and strenuous efforts in joint cooperation, the continuation of the joint excavations made headlines on 22 March regarding the amount of aid the project received, revealed the same day by the Ministry of Unification (*Tonga Ilbo*, *Newsis*, *Hankyoreh*, and *Financial News* 2010.03.22). As agreed in the 17th inter-Korean ministerial talks in 2007, the ROK Unification Ministry annually allocated funds for the joint Korean cooperation projects. Since its beginnings in 2007, the joint excavation of the Manwŏltae site had been conducted with ROK governmental funding, directed via the Cultural Heritage Administration. The aid received from 2007 until 2010 was quoted as 280,000,000 Won (around 200,000 €).²²⁰ The excavation project planning itself was executed by North and South Korean scholarly bodies, under a mutual agreement on excavation details (period, scale, staff, etc.).

The South Korean team decided to return in mid-May, about three weeks earlier than scheduled, because sufficient progress had been made, the ROK ministry spokesman Chun Hae-sung said, dismissing speculation that rising tension on the peninsula forced them to come back (*Yonhap News* 2010.05.18). However, most probably inter-Korean political tensions

²²⁰ Somehow this quoted amount seems a little at odds compared to the financial outline from the CHA that lists 213,000,000 Won alone for the first excavation turn May-July 2007. That would leave only 67,000,000 Won up to 2010 (Cultural Heritage Administration 2007b, 262).

influenced the working atmosphere on site. According to one of the South Korean archaeologists:

The relation between the archaeologists of the North and South was not so nice and felt a little uneasy during this excavation [from March to May 2010]'. We were busy excavating all day, with no time for the pleasantries and gatherings of the previous excavations. But because of our scholarly research there was no real threat. This excavation passed quickly and luckily we could verify a good amount of ancient remains, making the archaeological results much more successful than in the previous excavations (Email correspondence with Pak Song Jin, 19 July 2010).

Despite the ongoing political tensions between the Korean states, and their obvious effect on the atmosphere between the cooperating individuals, there is talk of further excavations envisioned for spring 2011 (that I have not confirmed yet as of December 2010).

The historic relics of Kaesŏng show how cultural heritage is used as a means of social incorporation under the guidance of dominant governmental and institutional cooperation and exchange agreements. The tangible heritage objects are constant markers that hold an array of meaningful and sometimes engaging interpretations through which the nation slowly constructs a sort of collective social memory. However, their potential is still undermined due to the very limited access on site. A first break through these limitations, the joint activities enabled North and South Koreans to shape together a selective tradition based on partly deliberative interaction and partly tacit avoidance of varying ideological ideals (Wyatt 1964, 319; Mercer 1999).

Unmasking the pig

The cultural cooperation for social change as theorised by contact theory (section II.II and V.I) may provoke first steps of political rapprochement, but might also raise suspicion of tacit power struggles. On a professional level the South Korean seemed content with relatively easy-going discussions on excavation practice that (given room) by superior expertise was mostly under their lead. Particularly the various personal experiences brought back home by their southern colleagues from observations and conversations with North Koreans might lead a cynic to question the very idea of rapprochement. South Koreans imported advanced if not superior equipment and expertise, and above all would carry along their individual prejudices and concepts about the ‘North’ as internalised by their life-long education. Although in the last two decades the public North Korean enemy picture has given place to one of pity with the inferior and behind brother state, ideological distinction has remained in place.

This inherent perception provokes the question if cultural and academic exchange can serve as a tool for rapprochement or rather ends up being just being an extension of cultural cold war methods ‘hoping to subvert the other side from within’ (Armstrong 2003, 71). Is the concept of rapprochement through cultural exchange then more likely a tool for ‘reorientation’ (*chŏnhyang* 전향) in order to liberate the brainwashed brother from their ideology, converting them to the other side? The mere suspicion that the other might attempt to manipulate and

subvert is an even more real threat to the legitimate use of communication action. Considering the popular and wide-spread stereotypes and prejudices, distrust is a protective precaution.

The omnipresent memory of the animation ‘Bright General’ (*Ttorichanggun* 돌이장군), first released in 1978 and newly republished in 2010, is an illustrative if random example of these stereotypes. At least until the late 1980s the story remained a part of the ROK school curriculum. The hero, a Korean Robin Hood, battles for the rights of the people oppressed by the wolves characterising the ‘evil’ military and officialdom until unmasking their leader as the pig Kim Il Sung, *Kim Il-sŏng-twaeji* 김일성돼지 (Figure 99).²²¹ Like in the cartoon, South Korean people generally regard the North Koreans as victims that are to be liberated of a totalitarian and ‘evil’ regime or at least to be pitied for being on the wrong side of the divide.

Confronted with the firm identification of North Korean colleagues with North Korean state ideology during inter-Korean cooperation as quoted earlier by Yu Pyŏnglin, the experience was alienating and had him retreat to a less liberal conviction of North Korea.



Figure 99: Above the masked pig and his unpleasant companions. Below the defeated and unmasked pig, a victory illustrative with white pigeons, bambis and happy released people swinging the South Korean national flag (<http://blog.chosun.com/blog.log.view.screen?userId=portoman&logId=665914>)

²²¹ A friend of mine avows that the scene of the unmasking watched in elementary school has remained as horrifying as exciting a vivid memory up to this day. Equally the North Korean cartoon ‘The brave hedgehog’ *Yonggamhan kosŭmdoch*’i published in 1991 takes wolves and foxes to represent the evil US and South Korean military. For images and a discussion on North Korean comic books see: <http://impeter.tistory.com/1139>. There were many comic books in South Korea, but also other media that contrasted the evil North to the good South.

Whereas there were a few additional sad or negative memories, about the disappearance of objects at site, the anti-capitalist tirades by some of the attendants, or impression of a barren, poor and behind country (Yun Sŏngyŏng, 27 October 2010), the overall lingering sentiment was a positive one with focus on the symbolic act of joined forces (Ch'oi Hyŏnggyun, 4 November 2010).

Nam Ch'anggŭn summarises his personal memorable experiences in the following words: 'North Korean people, sharing worries with colleagues, Koryŏ period palace structure, 120 days confined life; getting drunk at night and walk the empty KIZ; skin disease [i.e. sunburns, and insect bites], diarrhoea (no homesickness!).'

Most of the archaeologists were of relative young age (late twenties to mid-thirties), a generation that has been less strongly indoctrinated with a North Korean enemy picture compared to that of the more advanced age of historians and other participants of academic exchanges, where the involved are mostly established scholars. More than being political, the archaeologists appear strikingly emotional to see, and much like a tourist, experience, the otherwise off-limit home territory that was met with some anxiety before departure. This anxiety was also mixed with a very human curiosity for its 'exotic' differences or political system. For instance, to the great disappointment of Lee Sŭngwŏn, the television in their room did not show North Korean broadcasting, but South Korean one.

Food and other things related to taste were also exchanged and minutely investigated. A traditional style cake provided at lunch a time was thoroughly enjoyed and awoke memories of olden times. I received a long float of pictures taken from South Korean archaeologists that show the single dishes, the curious types of alcohol bottles and the people enjoying to taste them. Perhaps it was the oddness of the very familiar, the dishes and drinks are the same, but still different that attracts their attention. The North Korean *soju* (Korean traditional liquor) is more high proof and less sweet, and the beer is for South Korean taste a little stale (Lee Sŭngwŏn 2004, 316). In contrast the North Koreans judged the South Korean *soju* to be too sweet and did not seem to like it that much. *In the end it seems that between the North and the South there is also a considerable gap of taste* (Lee Sŭngwŏn 2004, 317).

Some could confirm existing stereotypes and prejudices giving examples of conversations that proofed the tight control of a totalitarian regime on its people, but I could not recognise any

self-reflection on the making of their ideological upbringing that shaped their very own ideas. All remarked on the impressions of the surrounding barren landscape, the occasional glimpse on neighbouring villages and people's daily livelihoods often compared with South Korea 30-40 years ago, like kids playing in a stream, flocks of goats roaming a field, empty roads, and poor farm houses.

Making Friends

The feeling of novelty or exoticism calls for stronger comparisons and unconscious search for the different and strange 'other' and contributes to the careful distance in the first contacts, something which emphasises the need for repeated exchanges to build mutual trust or even friendship. Notwithstanding the partial sensed superiority and confirmation of stereotypes, the first subtle personal rapprochements have led to an increase of inter-personal affection and reciprocal appreciation. True to the contact hypothesis that theorises the more one gets to know personally individual members of a group, the less one is likely to be prejudiced against that group, these personal sentiments are the true achievements of the joint excavations, because only these positive inter personal memories have the (psychological) effect to willingly give concessions on disturbing factors and to overcome feelings and acts of differentiation and distinction. Nam Ch'anggün (22 November 2010) describes how initial fear and unfamiliarity slowly disappeared.

As time goes by the stiff faces and the way of talking became familiar as that of a neighbour. [I could] feel the unifying force of our nation when drinking together with the [surveying] attendants... The awkward feeling [with which he and others started the first excavation at Manwöltae] slowly grew into attachment [and the second time they joined for excavations] could be spent extremely pleasantly and conversantly. [He adds that although they were told not to, he] had the chance to become very close with a colleague of the same age (*1975) through the sweat, discussion and worries shared during work.

This thought is matched among others by Yun Söngyöng (27 October 2010) from the KIZ excavation saying that through the shared experience, worries and joint forces with a shared aim in a restricted area contributed to a closeness with one of their attendants, and more so one colleague from the ARI. Pak Tongšön (3 December 2010) concluded that 'the two month

experience in Kaesŏng is very precious to me, a very memorable time. It could be said that sharing the same language and the same culture in different systems makes us the same nation. The place's nature, culture and people all remain in good memory'.

With an aim of reconciliation in mind, it is interesting to examine what sort of heritage activity holds a stronger importance for solidarity-building. Is it either an activity like the joint excavation at Manwŏltae, a cultural heritage object with an acknowledged value that dominates the autonomy of interaction, or an activity like in the KIZ, where the interaction is greater than the heritage object value and symbolism?

It appears that the effectiveness of rebuilding mutual bonds and cultural values through cultural heritage processes depends first on the active participation and cooperation, secondly on the extent of entitlements and autonomy of the professional and personal activities, and lastly on the possibility of repeated encounters. Possible factors for the difference of cooperation and division during these two joint excavations are their location and the perception of the site's cultural heritage value. These have an effect on the level of state control put on the activity.

In the free-trade zone of KIZ, the less official or government-representative nature of the activity, as well as the undefined excavation finds with various find categories and periods, and the restricted access area were all beneficial points to a greater autonomy of interaction and excavation procedures. The public result of their cooperation and communication as recorded in their reports and publications indicate a certain acknowledgement, but also avoidance of confrontational topics and are historically neutral.

The Manwŏltae excavations, in comparison, had the advantage of repeated activities. The archaeologist benefitted not only from returning to a known site of work, but also from getting accustomed to the place and become familiar to people. In addition to the time, they also enjoyed more opportunities, for example occasional joint dinners, to get closer with their North Korean colleagues (Pak Tongsŏn 3 December 2010). The higher official profile of the activity made the cooperation a bit more restrictive, a profile however, that lost intensity with time.

The excavations also prove that cultural professionals, regardless of their positive scholarly intentions and activities, are highly vulnerable to their social and political environment. It may be unconsciously or deliberately pressed, this environment restricts their freedom of interaction. Recollections of the joint excavations reveal not only the positive outcomes of exchange, but also some of the inherent problems of joint Korean cultural cooperation, especially issues with ideological distinction and felt superiority.

Whereas shared nationhood and the symbolic markers of a common culture are overtly recalled in brotherly accord on site, the recollection of the experienced unconsciously also reflects an underlying conviction of distinction between the 'North' and 'South'. Thus, figuratively speaking, before a truly fruitful cooperation can be achieved, it is not sufficient to simply work together while keeping a watch for the 'wolf lurking behind' or to attempt and prove Kim Il Sung a pig. Instead self-reflection in research and education received in the past and transmitted in the present need to be publicly discussed and informed in order to lay the needed foundations for a meaningful cooperation and recovery of cultural identities.

Cultural heritage activities, like these joint excavations should gain a stronger position as they often require a longer period of cooperation, and in addition have the unchallengeable benefit of remaining a physical marker. The remembrance of these activities transform into new symbolic interpretations in their own right. They have the potential for a more constant and greater spill-over-effect in history education and unification politics more broadly. Yet, this potential still needs to be fully exploited, as so far the dissemination of these new interpretations remain largely hidden to the general public. For one this is due to the strongly restricted access to the archaeological sites, especially for South Koreans. In comparison the products like pots and clothes produced in the KIZ and on sale in the South provide a chance to engage the public by buying them. Differently, the symbolic act of the joint Korean excavations is lacking this public profile as it has not produced a catching narrative, for instance, an extraordinary discovery.

IV.IV CULTURAL PROPERTY: THE HIDDEN DISCOURSE OF CONTEMPORARY STATE AND NATION IDENTIFICATIONS-

IV.IV.1 *COLLECTION POLICY*

Accordingly, the joint excavations by themselves are an important tool in nourishing inter-personal relationships across the borders. Nevertheless, in order to become a meaningful shaper in inter-Korean rapprochement the transmission of their results to a broader public is necessary. The professional responses to cultural heritage and its interpretation thus need a policy of collecting and displaying cultural heritage to reach and teach the public.

One of the best established vehicles of such interpretations aimed at the broad public is the museum. In Kaesŏng the first museum was opened in 1931 (cf. section II.III.vi) and had developed since as a ‘vehicle of shared cultural knowledge and memory’ (Confino 1997, 1386) that has been liable to governmental cultural policies and individual professionals’ involvement. The exhibition of prized culture was more than guided by aesthetics, the property of and identification with culture has been a showcase of identities.



Figure 100: The Kaesŏng Provincial Museum with a new adjunct building (1949)

On 1 November 1936 the Kaesŏng Museum celebrated its fifth anniversary with the well visited inauguration of a new annex building that gave more space for the collection (*Koryŏ Sibŏ* 1936.11.16) (Figure 100). More exhibition space was needed as the collection steadily increased with new finds and acquisitions. A big part of the collection of Ayukai Husanoshin (鮎貝房之進 1864-1946) was loaned to the Kaesŏng Museum, after it was taken over by the

Mitsui Bussan Company and donated to the Seoul Chosŏn General Government Museum.²²² In addition, the Kaesŏng town purchased the collection of Nakata Michikoro 中田市五郎 (Ko 1941.8) with a donation by the Kaesŏng government official Ko Hanhŭng. A newspaper article reports the ‘addition of thirty pieces of 780 year old Koryŏ ceramics with a total value of 20,000 Won’ with a picture of their exhibition inside the Kaesŏng Museum (*Tonga Ilbo* 1933.11.13).

Newspaper articles throughout the 1930s follow the gradual extension of the museum’s collection.²²³ Some list the names of individuals and the amount of their donation,²²⁴ the donation of objects and the move of artefacts from their original location to the museum. Moving local artefacts to the museum concerned new archaeological finds as well as known objects publicly and privately owned. A policy was introduced in 1921 that regulated the right to relocate artefacts to the Chosŏn General Government Museum and its later established provincial museums, which the Kaesŏng Museum despite its currently celebrated ‘independence’ de facto was part of (*Chosŏn Ch’ongdongbu* 1931, 92-93). So, for instance, did the authority of the Government General negotiate the move of a Koryŏ period pagoda kept in a private garden. On the grounds of preservation issues it was ordered to be moved to the Kaesŏng Museum the coming spring (*Tonga Ilbo* 1934.12.05).

Other examples are the ‘Safekeeping of 1000 year old [Kaeguksa] stone lantern and sarcophagus in the Kaesŏng Museum’ (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1936.05.14) (Figure 101). The museum director Ko Yusŏp had the stone lantern from its ruined historic site owned by the secondary school moved to the museum, where it was placed in front of the main building. The stone coffin was investigated at its original location [Changdan-kun Taenam-myŏn Uich’ŏn-li] by Ko and the official Han Suchaeng. They found it to be an important and fine example of early Koryŏ craftsmanship and had it transferred to the museum.

²²² The Hsuanosshin collection items were already listed in the museum booklet published in April 1936 (Kaesŏng Provincial Museum 1936, 9).

²²³ See for example: *Chosŏn Chungang Ilbo* 1933.11.12. ‘Display of world connoisseurs prided Koryŏ ceramics, extension of the Kaesŏng Museum collection of 7 items that were difficult to find but bought’, with pictures; and *Chosŏn Chungang Ilbo*, 1935.08.05. ‘Donation of Koryŏ ceramics to the Kaesŏng Museum’.

²²⁴ Many newspaper articles mention the Kaesŏng museum building process and the individual names with the amount of donation. Some selected examples are in the *Chosŏn Ilbo* from 1931.03.13, 1931.05.08, and *Maeil Sinbo* 1931.05.07.



Figure 101: Newspaper clip with rare illustration from the *Chosŏn Ilbo* 1936.05.14 titled 'Safekeeping of 1000 year old [Kaeguksa] stone lantern and sarcophagus in the Kaesŏng Museum'



Figure 102: Newspaper clip featuring the exhibition of recently excavated Koryŏ ceramics, *Chosŏn Jungang Ilbo*, Nov. 12, 1933

Further local finds that were moved to the 'local' museum were a stone dragon head (see chapter V.IV.ii) and lots of celadon wares from an excavation at the Manwŏltae royal palace site in end October 1933 (Figure 102). That excavation took place the same day an iron general helmet was unearthed ploughing a Japanese owned apple field (*Tonga Ilbo* 1933.11.04).

Most of the ceramics were later forwarded as a loan to Seoul. Loaning artefacts to Seoul was common practice (Guk 2008, 16-17). Although the trend surely went in the direction of centralisation, some of the local objects were also given back, as seen above in the Kaesŏng Museum's foundation history and the following example. After the designation of 220 national treasures in 1934 (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1934.05.04), many were chosen to be exhibited in Seoul. One year later the article 'Exhibition of Iron Buddha, stone sarcophagus²²⁵ et al in the (Kaesŏng) museum' (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1935.09.16) gives some idea of the movement of Kaesŏng relics.

The highly regarded ancient remains of the iron Buddha figure and a stone coffin that were ordered to be exhibited and placed in the Kyŏngsŏngbokgung Palace Kŭnjŏng-jŏn Hall (what after independence became the National Museum of Korea in Seoul), are

²²⁵ The stone coffin currently on display in the Koryŏ Museum in Kaesŏng is said to have been excavated in Changp'ungun Kagogri (장풍군 가곡리), see Chŏn Ryong-ch'ŏl, 2002, 178-194. However, it must be another than the one exhibited in the early 1930s as part of the Japanese collection in the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum and picked up from the police station in Changdan-kun Taenam-myŏn Uich'ŏn-li and moved to the museum in 1936 (see Ko 2007).

now exhibited for the first time in Kaesŏng to be publicly viewed. This collection of Koryŏ period artefacts have become contemporary national treasures.

The following day another newspaper expresses even pride that the designated national treasures of the Koryŏ period, the iron Buddha and the stone sarcophagus, were exhibited in the Kyŏngsŏngbokgung and now ‘returned home to be enshrined in the Kaesŏng museum’ (*Tonga Ilbo* 1935.09.17). Therefore, having been chosen to be exhibited in Seoul was up-valuing the cultural remain and the pride taken for it.

On the other side excavated goods were directly sent to Seoul²²⁶ or sold under price. A more critical perspective on preservation policies and the moving of historical goods was expressed by the Kaesŏng Confucian Society that ‘is filled with anger over the move of a memorial building deeply rooted in history to Seoul for only 300 Won’ (*Tonga Ilbo* 1938.01.16). Here, the cultural policy is under critique for promoting illegal profit-making with national treasures that also blames the passivity of the involved Kaesŏng Province Committee (the same that spoke for a branching of the Kaesŏng Museum under Seoul). Further there was a controversy over the exhibition of Manwŏltae palace relics in the Kaesŏng Museum. Some citizens were disapproving of it as it would accelerate and promote the illegal business with cultural goods (*Tonga Ilbo* 1939.03.24).²²⁷

Therefore, it can be argued two ways about cultural preservation. Is preservation a means to safe and educate or to control ownership? The right to survey, preserve, collect and move a country’s culture according to one’s preference had been and continues to be an expression of power, empowerment for local and national identities, as well as for the governments in charge.

²²⁶ Sending excavation finds directly to Seoul was mainly in practice before the establishment of the provincial museums. However, many of the spectacular excavations, as of royal tombs in Kaesŏng, happened in 1905 and 1916.

²²⁷ Legally the removal of artefacts inside or outside the occupied territory has no implications, as the only convention in place at the time had not been signed by the Japanese Empire. On possible future legal improvements to combat the trade (and national plunder) of artefacts, see: Fiedler, Wilfried 1996. Safeguarding of cultural property during occupation – modifications of the Hague Convention of 1907 by World War II?, In: Martine Briat, Judith A. Freeberg, eds. *Legal Aspects of International Trade in Art, International Sales of Works of Art*, Vol. V, Kluwer Law International, The Hague: 175-183.

Until present the practice of moving artefacts to the museum has not changed. So is, for example, the iron lion-legged pot excavated in 1978 from Kaepung-gun Changcha-li Kaegsa-gol now exhibited in the Kaesŏng Museum (Wang Songsu 1978, 47-8). Other excavation goods that included an inlaid celadon bottle with cloud motif were moved from Kaesŏng Haeson-li directly to the Chosŏn Central History Museum in Pyongyang due to the personally expressed concern for their safekeeping by Kim Il Sung in 1975 (Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 223). Already as early as in 1957 were Koryŏ artefacts exhibited in the Central History Museum, when the Koryŏ ceramics and metal craft exhibition hall was opened on 14 August (Academy of Science 1957b).

Similarly, under the ROK control of Kaesŏng and its museum the moving of artefacts from site or to the capital's central museum was in practice. Min T'aesik (閔泰植 1903-1981) continued the direction of the Kaesŏng museum from 1944 until Korean Liberation with the end of World War II in 1945. Kaesŏng became part of the ROK provisional division and the Kaesŏng Museum underwent considerable reorganisation. As if to demonstrate the legitimisation of a new Korean state against the previous foreign domination, the museum finally lost its former independent stance and reopened as a branch of the National Museum of Korea 國立博物館 in Seoul on 15 April, 1946 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1946.04.01, *Chosŏn Ilbo* 1946.04.14 and Chin 1970, 169). Kaesŏng born Chin Hongŏp (秦弘燮 1918- 2010), a former student of Ko Yusŏp, became the new museum director. Together with Hwang Suyŏng (黃壽永 1918- 2011)²²⁸ and Ch'oe Sunu (崔淳雨 1916-1984)²²⁹, Chin Hongŏp was one of the so-called 'Kaesŏng trio' (개성 3 인방). The three scholars from Kaesŏng were influenced by Ko Yusŏp, and after liberation from Japan significantly shaped early South Korean art history research in the highest academic and museum positions. Chin's new emphasis of the museum was to be educational and explanatory to bring visiting school classes closer to Kaesŏng's past.

Six decades further on in March 2009, Chin Hongŏp was interviewed by Yi Wonbok (director of the education department of the National Museum of Korea in Seoul) as part of an interview

²²⁸ In 1941 Hwang graduated in economic studies at Tokyo Imperial University. After Liberation he returned to Korea and taught at Kaesŏng Commerce Middle School (1945-47). 1948-50 he worked as a curator at Seoul National Museum, of which he turned director of in 1971-74, after an interval of university teaching.

²²⁹ Ch'oe worked under Ko Yusŏp at the Kaesŏng Museum from 1946-48 and then continued with positions at the Seoul National Museum, of which he was the director from 1974 until his death in 1984.

series in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Korea Museum and its prominent people (Figure 103). It reveals that one year before the official outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950, Kaesŏng, located close to the dividing 38th parallel was engulfed in the continuous attacks between the North and South Korean armies. Koryŏ celadon wares and important cultural relics were hastily sent to Seoul and the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum closed its doors.

Chin Hongsŏp guarded and stayed in the museum even after the outbreak of the Korean War. Then, the Chinese Army entered the war and [the return of the battle frontier to the south] made the stay in Kaesŏng life-threatening. Director Chin left for Pusan, the southern port city to which the National Museum was evacuated in December 1951, though not before burying a part of the remaining museum collection underground with three people (‘Hanguk pakmulgwan 100 nyŏn-ŭi saram-dŭl’ 2009) on [12 and 13 December (Chin 1970, 170)].



Figure 103: Former director (1947-52) of the Kaesŏng Museum, Chin Hongsŏp during an interview in March 2009



Figure 104: Chin Hongsŏp on the left during a National Museum Evacuation committee meeting in Pusan 1952

Immediately following this, and as the war continued, in January 1952 the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum was re-opened by North Korean authorities under the name of Kaesŏng History Museum according to recent DPRK news (KCNA 2002).²³⁰ At the end of the Korean War, the

²³⁰ For an introduction to the museum content after the North Korean take over, see: Kim Ilwŏn 1958. Important artefacts exhibited in the Kaesŏng History Museum, *Munhwa yusan* 2: 66-71. The name change of the *Kaesŏng History Museum* to the *Koryŏ Museum* through time has caused a bit of confusion, as the latter name had only been introduced in 1988 and is popularly also referred to just as *Kaesŏng Museum*. The above mentioned article

former Kaesŏng Provincial Museum's collection was returned from its Pusan exile to the museum inside the old Kyŏngbukgung palace in Seoul in August 1953, when according to administration lists the Kaesŏng Museum branch still existed (Figure 104). Only three years after the North Korean authorities opened *their* Kaesŏng Museum, by 1955 ('two to three years after the move from Pusan exile'), was the National Museum Kaesŏng branch erased from the ROK National Museum administrative list (Chin 1970, 170).²³¹ In October 1953 the whole South Korean collection was moved to Seoul Namsan Mountain in place of the former Folk Museum. A few more moves between museum buildings in Seoul followed, the most significant in 1972 to a new purpose-built museum in the same palace, and then for expansion reasons in 1986 to the former Japanese colonial government building. With the grand opening of the new museum building for the National Museum in Seoul in 2005, these artefacts had their last move so far. Thus, many Koryŏ artefacts preserved in South Korea today have a Kaesŏng provenance.

North Korean articles in cultural heritage journals mention repeatedly that the Kaesŏng Museum had been looted by the US army on 18 June, 1949 (e.g. Ŏm Yŏngch'an 1993, 42). It is interesting if not surprising that the North Korean sources blame the US army, as they customary accuse the Americans for atrocities, or having directed the ROK Koreans in doing them.

However, the date of the alleged looting by US military questions the validity of the accusation. For one, the small US army garrison in the centre of Kaesŏng, Easy Company, withdrew in the early part of 1949 and only a small detachment of three or four army officers and perhaps two enlisted men was quartered in Kaesŏng to question refugees from North Korea (Bruce Cumings). Secondly, the information given in an earlier interview and a little more detailed publication in the compilation of *Kaesŏng* (1970, 167-171) give strong reason to suggest that the Korean museum professionals were responsible for the 'looting'. For one, a newspaper

about the Kaesŏng History Museum describes objects that are now all included in the Koryŏ Museum, but also contained a larger collection of Chosŏn period exhibits. Yet, even an official South Korean publication of the Unification Institute, 북한인 사회문화시설 현황, 통일원 from 1995 falls victim of the confusion and introduces to two museums. It states that the exhibition of the Kaesŏng History Museum covers pre-historic artefacts, material documentation of the March 3 1919 Independence Movement and a number of special exhibitions that cover the Koryŏ period characteristic to the region with excavated relics (1995, 53) while also introducing to the Koryŏ Museum (1995, 47).

²³¹ Still in 1954 a special children section called '소국민차지 명승고적소개' in a daily newspaper naturally featured an introduction to the historic sites and scenic spots of Kaesŏng (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1954.05.31).

article from 26 May, 1949 informs that 9% of treasures from the Kaesŏng Museum were to be sent off to be stored in Seoul (*Chayu Shinmun* 1949.05.26).²³²

Secondly, Chin's documented story proves the move of museum objects as planned by the museum personnel. His story was rediscovered and had broadly come to light in 2000 when he was interviewed 82 years old as part of a government inspection in the Seoul National Museum. A coverage in all the major ROK newspapers on the following day, 21 October, 2000 (O Sŭnghun 2000. 국보급 문화재 100 여점 6.25 때 개성에 묻고 피난, *Munhwa Ilbo*; *Maeil Sinmun*; Yi Chihyŏng in *Chosŏn Ilbo*; Kim Kabsik '문화재 100 여점 한국전때 개성에 묻고왔다' *Tonga Ilbo*) reported of the interview conducted by the government assembly member Mr Sim Chae-kwŏn (심재권) and Mr Ch'oe Kŭnho from the Korean Cultural Heritage Administration newspaper. The interview reveals that Chin buried together with two local residents and one guard around hundred artefacts somewhere near Kaesŏng in December 1951 before leaving Kaesŏng, because he thought that Kaesŏng [after the fighting] would quickly be reclaimed [by the ROK]. He is the only surviving witness of the burial location. The newspapers also reported that the assembly member made himself strong for a joint Korean excavation of these buried artefacts in Kaesŏng.

This is an interesting strait, but nine years on and surprisingly there was no follow-up news. The alleged looting (and its possible connection to an evacuation) in summer 1949 and the burial of national treasures in Kaesŏng in December 1951 have been the two main reasons to further investigate the fate of the Kaesŏng Museum and its collection. Regarding the first issue, there is no material, or more precise, none made available, to ascertain the objects that were moved to Seoul. Thankfully I managed to speak to the director of the education department of the National Museum of Korea in Seoul, Dr Yi Wonbok (이원복), who also conducted the 2009 interview.²³³ Kindly answering my questions during a telephone conversation (Thursday, 30 April 2009) Dr Yi explained that a part of the collection was hurriedly loaned, denying the existence of documentation, museum documents or catalogues in the archives that could tell

²³² Ironically the same day *Tonga Ilbo* features an article with an 'introduction to the exhibits of the Kaesŏng Museum'.

²³³ This contact could only be made thanks to the kind initiative of Dr Yun Jong Seok, Director of Green Division at the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and Dr Yeo In-Kon from the Korea Institute for National Unification. The former called the Seoul National Museum and forwarded the summary of his conversation with Yi Wonbok from 6 April 2009. At the same time the latter contacted Yi Wonbok and Chin's son, who works for the Seoul National Museum, for details on the interview and to answer some additional questions.

when and what was sent or received in the mentioned evacuation of artefacts from Kaesŏng to Seoul and Pusan. The excuse is the chaotic war time. So in conclusion it could only be ascertained that at some point in 1949 some important relics were sent away. The response to my question if 18 June 1949, the date the DPRK associates with the US army looting of the museum, could be the date for the evacuation or ‘hastily sent loan’ of the museum collection was ‘Yes, perhaps’.

In regard to the rescue burial and its proposed joint Korean excavation, he said that the current National Museum director Ch’oe Kwang-Sik (최광식) visited Kaesŏng to further investigate this case. However, time has changed the place, a building is now standing on the location of the rescue burial so that nothing can be done or found there. Only the treasured gilded bronze Buddha statue from the later Koryŏ period Minch’ŏnŏsa temple site (旻天寺) [the forwarded email with the summary of the conversation states it to be an iron Buddha statue (*ch’ŏlbul*), but that might be a misunderstanding] that because of its size and weight could not be moved to Seoul or properly buried, had been discovered and placed in the Pyongyang Central Museum. Anyhow, he went on to assure that ‘there was a misunderstanding with the press about the *100 treasured artefacts* and that they were not that important, only shattered pieces and such’. In fact, in one instance of the 2000 interview Chin is quoted saying he buried the gilded bronze Buddha and around ten pieces, but nevertheless ten pieces of national treasures.

Even if giving concessions due to the informal nature of the information, its transmission over phone with language barriers and partly over third parties, the answers are not very satisfactory and information appears somewhat extenuated.²³⁴

In addition, the coarse information and reference in the museum collection display arouse suspicion of the museum’s sincere concern to clarify and inform about the provenance or circumstances of receipt of many of its celebrated artefacts. Many of Koryŏ celadon, bronze mirrors and Buddhist sculpture on display in the Korea National Museum in Seoul indicate no visible catalogue numbers and many are bare of indication of provenance, rarely even of

²³⁴ Unfortunately a written request from my side to have the information given by others and collected by myself confirmed, remained so far unanswered.

finding or excavation location,²³⁵ despite most of them being designated treasures, *pomul*²³⁶, or national treasures, *kukbo*. A special exhibition on *The royal ceramics of Goryeo dynasty* (2008) featured many celadon wares with origin in Kaesŏng.²³⁷ The description of the exhibits focuses on style and their production period and method. Only sporadically does it go into the detail of provenance and excavation, particularly if it falls out of the ROK period and describes Japanese activities. One prominent example from Kaesŏng with comparatively much information is the so-called monkey vase (Figure 106), excavated from the royal palace site Manwŏltae in 1933. In 1936 its photograph was still published as a part of the Kaesŏng Museum collection (Figure 105).²³⁸



Figure 105: The 'Monkey Vase' (Kaesŏng Provincial Museum 1936, 7)



Figure 106: 'Monkey Vase' in the National Museum of Korea (NMK 2008, plate 44)

Other excavated pieces previously held in the Kaesŏng Museum are the lion incense burner and dragon shaped ewer designated ROK national treasures 60 and 61. Like then, when discovered as two of 27 pieces in 1933 and depicted in the news (Figure 107), they are one of the heart pieces of the special exhibition in Seoul 2008, the dragon ewer adorning the exhibition catalogue cover (Figure 108).

²³⁵ The rare exceptions are briefly mentioning in captions, for example that the object comes from the royal tombs of king Ŭijong and king Injong. The caption for the jar called 여의두 연꽃잎무늬병 says that it was unearthed near Kaesŏng.

²³⁶ Celadon treasures I saw were numbers 340, 342, 345, 346, 903, and national treasure numbers 61, 94-98, 113, 115, 116 and 253.

²³⁷ During my visit of the museum library, in the later deluded hope to find clues in museum's acquisition registers or similar documents, I was kindly put in touch with one museum curator. Although she could not allow me access to their archives, she nevertheless tried to help and presented me with the Koryŏ ceramic exhibition catalogue.

²³⁸ The collection index of the Japanese Government General of Korea lists the vase among other objects from the Manwŏltae excavation as its possession (NMK 2008, 100, n25).



Figure 107: Headline stars then and now:
Photographs of recently excavated celadon wares
exhibited in the Kaesŏng Museum (Chosŏn
Chungang Ilbo, 1933.11.12)

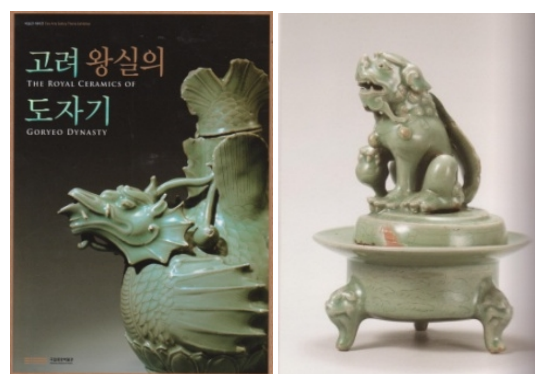


Figure 108: Exhibition catalogue cover and plate
no 98 of the special exhibition catalogue on 'Royal
ceramics of the Goryeo dynasty' 2008

The passivity concerning the identification of the objects from the Kaesŏng Museum branch and the circumstances of acquisition comes especially surprising, since the Seoul National Museum just pompously signed the Code of Ethics (윤리강령) of the ICOM International Council of Museums²³⁹ in 2008 that stipulates for instance that 'museums hold primary evidence for establishing and furthering knowledge' (article 3) that 'should not be governed only by current intellectual trends or present museum usage'. Granted, the National Museum in Korea, a collection of a former colonised country naturally focuses more on its role as victim. No doubt most of the official removals of artefacts to museums, but also cultural atrocities fall into the first four decades of Korea's museum history and cultural policy that were under Japanese Colonial control. Due to the geopolitical exception of Kaesŏng that only for a very short time span was part of the ROK, the research into the related cultural policy, museum practice and removal of artefacts might appear insignificant or even unreasonable.

Nevertheless, as the first provincial Korean museum to open and the obvious intrinsic link of its collection to the contemporary collection in the Korean National Museum, the collection history surely deserves further investigation. An open and more critical debate on ideologically motivated practice, current museum policies and research in the acquisition history, as well as the introduction of a practically orientated guideline on how to deal with and present artefacts

²³⁹ ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums was adopted in 1986 and revised in 2004. It establishes the values and principles shared by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the international museum community. It is a reference tool that sets minimum standards of professional practice and performance for museums and their staff.

of uncertain provenance or unknown acquisition would be a desirable future approach. Certainly it would be a useful approach that distinguished between museum practices in times of peace to ones in war.

IV.IV.II *NATIONAL PROPERTY?*

Although the respective states of the ROK and DPRK were established in 1948, they were still somewhat provisional and the demarcation line not really an established border line until after the Korean War Truce in 1953. This leads to the question of the status of state property rights and claims over cultural property. Both Korean states have the same ‘national’ claim on Korean cultural property. Is the property right determined by the original territorial provenance of the object? Or are cultural property rights rather automatically defined along the state territorial boundaries of the given time? The factors, legal bindings that decide and give one of the states the right to own or move that property along the shifting border lines is very unclear, and especially at the time had still been unregulated. In the case of the evacuation of goods from the Kaesŏng Museum, the South Koreans could argue that it was not a matter of owning the objects, but primarily about protecting them. Would the case be different for legal property rights if the Kaesŏng museum collection send-off to Seoul in 1949 was a transfer, loan or evacuation? Perhaps it is, but insignificantly, because for the ROK it is legally right to move objects from a branch museum to the mother museum in its period of political sovereignty over Kaesŏng (1948-50).

Yet at the same time, both Korean states demand the repatriation of cultural goods the Japanese state ‘looted’ from Korea during the colonial period, a colonial power accepted internationally at its time. After the end of the colonial period other pressing issues than cultural repatriation came to the front and cultural policies were just continued as introduced under the Japanese colonial period. On 8 November 1945 the US government had the Korean Royal Family Office established and the major cultural policies remained. The MacArthur Decrees No. 1 and No. 2 from the period of US protectorate indicate that all public staff, unless otherwise directed, shall be engaged in existing office, and preserve all the records and properties (Yu 2004, 44-45). It is further clarified that various laws in place since the Japanese rule, including the cultural preservation policy, will continue to exist in place unless otherwise directed (*Chungoe Sinbo*, 1946.08.07). Charles K. Armstrong poignantly writes that ‘if the occupation of Korea was an afterthought of U.S. military planners, then culture was an afterthought of an afterthought. The United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) neither had a clear cultural policy nor paid much attention to cultural matters in South Korea until fears of communist

subversion arose in the latter part of 1946, when the USAMGIK belatedly recognised it had a public relation problem in Korea' (2003, 73).

With the establishment of the ROK in August 1948, the presidential law no 22 officially took over the cultural property categories (Chang Hosu 2000, 184), but without making particular amendments to the law introduced by the Japanese colonialists.²⁴⁰ Also the post-war discussion of Korean cultural property restitution from the Japanese was rapidly superseded by political considerations. Donald Macintyre (2002) conveys in his article that a 'key opponent of Japanese restitution was General Douglas MacArthur, head of the U.S. occupation government in Tokyo after the war. In a transcript of a confidential May 1948 radio message that TIME has uncovered in the U.S. National Archives, MacArthur told the Army: 'I am in most serious disagreement even with the minority view on the replacement of cultural property lost or destroyed as a result of military action and occupation.' MacArthur's opposition had nothing to do with the legal, ethical or moral rightness of restitution claims but with immediate U.S. policy goals and growing Cold War fears. Such a course would, according to MacArthur, 'embitter the Japanese people toward us and render Japan vulnerable to ideological pressure and a fertile field for subversive action'.²⁴¹

Worldwide repatriation continues to be a heated debate between political considerations and unclear legal groundings. Often the repatriation discourse underlies a more moral or ethic act from a foreign aggressor then necessarily a legal one.

With no legal ground, nor a request (I know of) by the DPRK to 'repatriate' cultural artefacts from the South to their original location in the North, there should be no 'restraints arising for reasons of confidentiality and security' (article 3.2) limiting the free flow of information. So

²⁴⁰ Only in 1962 should the ROK proclaim their 'Cultural Properties Protection Law' to replace the colonial one, though still heavily indebted to its ideas (Yu 2004, 48).

²⁴¹ This article was most welcome to the North Korean media that immediately took it as a catalyst for its anti-US propaganda citing the article that revealed MacArthur's quote that 'he is adamantly opposed to the restoration to the original state of the cultural treasures lost or destroyed as a result of military actions and occupation.' [...] He explained the reason why he was opposed to the return of the cultural treasures by claiming that the return might 'hurt the feelings of the Japanese toward the United States.' KCNA 2002.03.10 'U.S. refusal to return Korean cultural treasures disclosed', <http://www.kcna.co.jp/item/2002/200203/news03/10.htm>

why were or could questions not met with answers by the otherwise very obliging and resourceful museum personnel?

Despite the surely difficult circumstances of a war, I am dubious how a museum can receive loads of boxes and not have them ticked off an item list or the least have a date of arrival, and if not on paper in the memory of some museum personnel. Is there reason for the Seoul National Museum to be scared of making the origin and acquisition circumstances of the artefacts too publicly known?

It might be speculated that next to the legal issue, the unquestioning view on the ROK cultural property allows a national identification with 'our Korean' heritage undisturbed of distinctions between the Korean state and nation. The naturally felt homogeneity of Korean culture is for example less obvious when viewing the same cultural object as a property of the DPRK exhibited in a museum in the North. Across the borders the identification with state properties comes easier against identification with properties in its location of original provenance, but 'at home' in Seoul the South Korean visitor prefers to encounter and identifies itself through its Korean culture (*uri munhwa*) owned by its own state.

Still in the reconciling period of the 'Sunshine Policy' and the increase of inter-Korean state cooperation the art historian Ha Moon-sig called for a method to jointly control cultural properties between the Korean states. He proposed the exchange of cultural properties and inter-Korean cooperation concluding that such 'events have a significant meaning in recovering cultural identities of Korea' (Ha 2007, 302+ 378). Recovering these shared Korean identities is truly an honourable aim. Yet, before a truly fruitful cooperation can be achieved, it is not sufficient to investigate the policies and practices of the *other side*, or to solely engage in occasional cooperation. Self-reflective cultural policies that approach Korean cultural identity vice versa Korean state belongings need to be publicly discussed and informed in research and education, in South Korea and between the Koreas, in order to lay the needed foundations for a meaningful cooperation and recovery of cultural identities.

V POPULAR DISSEMINATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE INTERPRETATION

After the fall of the Koryŏ dynasty, Kaesŏng, the former capital, became an important theme in Korean intellectuals' reflections on the history and culture of their country. In accordance with the East Asian cultural tradition and inspired by the ruins of Kaesŏng, scholars reflected on the 'rise and fall of dynasties'. Kaesŏng served as a focus for contemplation on political questions, such as the historical fate of states or the behaviour of rulers and their moral impact on future generations (Häußler 2004, 36).²⁴² Despite following traditional East Asian literary motifs, the literary accounts of their Kaesŏng visits offer some interesting inside in the condition and changing use and judgement of historical monuments, favourite historical sites and the formation process of cultural perceptions of Kaesŏng. Many of the sites that were visited have been destructed, decayed or altogether disappeared today.

One such intellectual's reflection was that of the early Chosŏn period scholar Kil Chae. He was strongly influenced by the murdered Koryŏ loyalist Chŏng Mongju (see below V.II.ii) and following his lead refused to serve the new dynasty. In order to avoid the fate of his mentor, Kil Chae fled from Kaesŏng to his home town in Kyŏngsang Province, where he hid in a cave for several years (Grayson 2002, 103). Afterwards Kil Chae revisited Kaesŏng. In his poem on the desolate palace site Manwŏltae he laments the loss of ideals from a lost golden age and its heroes.

On horseback, I visit Kaesŏng,
The capital for five centuries.
The hills and the waters are ever the same;
But the heroes have disappeared without a trace.
Oh, golden age, is it a dream
That we once praised peace in our songs?
(Kil Chae 1353-1419, translation in Häußler 2004, 37)

²⁴² Although more popular, Kaesŏng's Manwŏltae palace site is not the only one that served as a symbol in the contemplation of the life's circle. Passing by the area, the late Koryŏ official Kang Hŭibaek (1357-1402) takes up the literary motif in the poem about king Kungye's (T'aebong kingdom, predecessor to King Wang Kŏn, cf. section III.I) old palace site near Chŏlwon (the site lies now inside the DMZ) titled *Kungwang kodo yu 'gam* [Sadness for the old capital of King Kung]. TMS 17:9a



Figure 109: Photograph of a civilian unification group visiting Kaesŏng. 'Together we are walking the ground of a 5000 year history'

Close to this theme in the fourteenth century poem, South Korean visitors to Kaesŏng are reflecting on a shared past and the possibility of a peaceful future Korea through the remembrance of the Koryŏ period. Given the unprecedented possibility to tour a North Korean town, visiting the cultural relics of a long gone but shared past, brings the ideal of a shared future closer. As such the cultural tourism (*munhwa gwan'gwang* 문화관광) promotes the contemporary ideal (if not utopia) of its reconciling qualities that promises to refresh and re-emphasize the collective Korean cultural and historical memory. Could the Kaesŏng cultural tourism project be a vehicle in the promotion of peace?

V.I KAESŎNG CULTURAL TOURISM

Investigating the possibility for tourism to contribute to the reconciliation within a divided nation, I will analyse how it fosters a common memory of a shared past and new socio-cultural developments. In order to establish and eventually develop the national culture concept and value of Kaesŏng for the Korean cultural nation in the two Korean nation states, the cultural perceptions of Kaesŏng and the values attached to it need increased consideration. The two major types of cultural activities in Kaesŏng are the joint excavations and cultural tourism.²⁴³ The previous two chapters looked at the valuation and interpretation of cultural heritage from the view of the state and the heritage professional. This chapter will examine the popular appropriation of these dominant interpretations as well as their changing adaptation and dissemination along the tides of socio-political contexts.

As I have concluded in the previous chapter, the scholarly activities of joint excavations in Kaesŏng have a very limited public dissemination. However, what is the case for cultural tourism to Kaesŏng? Tourism, by direct contact with the visited heritage, is one of the most efficient ways of educating the wider public and disseminating old and new cultural meanings. Tourism will be discussed in more detail with some historical reference to Kaesŏng as a tourist destination.²⁴⁴

The premise that tourism fosters peace and tolerance has been widely discussed. A number of researchers have postulated that tourism between nations that have been divided or remain hostile to each other may be a means of reducing tension and promoting peace. While tourism may be a method of reducing political tension (Butler and Mao 1996; Yu 1997; Higgins-Desbiolles 2003), others argue that it may also have a darker side and inadvertently become a vehicle for inhibiting peace. Taking the example of the more popular North Korea tour to the

²⁴³ Joan Henderson 2002. Tourism and Politics in the Korean Peninsula. *The Journal of Tourism Studies*. 13(2), 16-27.

²⁴⁴ North Korean Tours that are open for non-Koreans, most of the times also include a visit to Kaesŏng. For most foreign visitors Kaesŏng comes as part of the package where one can admire the 'authentic' beauty of an old Korean city centre, a trespassing point on their way to the nearby DMZ and Panmunjom. For the purpose of this paper's argument however, I restrict the analysis on inter-Korean tourism.

Diamond Mountains (Kūmgang-san), Kim and Pridaux (2003) suggest that tourism is the consequence of a political process aimed at rapprochement, not the genesis of the process.

It was only after the turn of the millennium that a positive and friendly future for the two Koreas was envisioned and that in 2001 the soon opening of the North Korean town Kaesŏng for South Korean travellers could be predicted (Shin Kyung-hwa 2001).²⁴⁵ Hyundai Asan conducted three tours with five hundred tourists each on 26 August, 2 and 7 September to test whether a regular tourism project would be feasible.²⁴⁶ The Hyundai Asan executive director who also led the Kūmgangsan tourist project, Yi Yunsu, said (2005) that ‘Kaesŏng is really a touristic site where one can breathe history!’ and it ‘could become an exercise book where one can experience our nation’s history and wisdom’.²⁴⁷

At this early stage of the tour the major tourist attractions were Pakyŏn Falls, Sŏnjukkyo Bridge, the Koryŏ Museum, the royal tombs of Kongmin and Wang Kŏn and Yŏngt’ongsa temple, newly restored in a North-South Korean cooperation.²⁴⁸ Two years later on, preparations were done for a public opening of the tours, and tourism professionals and social scientists discussed on a seminar the potential of ‘Kaesŏng cultural tourism, when and how



Figure 110: Seminar at Korea University North Korea Research Institute, Seoul, on October 12, 2007: ‘Kaesŏng Cultural Tourism, when and how should it start?’

²⁴⁵ Kim Dae Jung (1924-2009) addressed his historical speech ‘Lessons of German Unification and the Korean peninsula’ during his Berlin visit at Free University on 9 March 2000 (www.monde-diplomatique.fr/dossiers/coree/A/coree2000.html). The next day he enunciated his Berlin declaration’ (*Berlin yŏnsol*) leading to the engaging period with the DPRK and the historic inter Korean summit, 13-15 June 2000. Kim’s speech was neatly set between initial tender indicators of mutual interest in a joint summit, as signalled in Pyongyang in December 1998 during a meeting with the late Hyundai founder Chung and his son, and an inter-Korean vice-ministerial meeting in 1999 in Beijing (Donald Kirk 2009, 3), and ROK parliamentary elections on 13 April 2000.

²⁴⁶ http://www.traveldailynews.com/new.asp?newid=24659&subcategory_id=98

²⁴⁷ Yi Yunsu is cited in the following digital news article

<http://media.daum.net/foreign/others/view.html?cateid=1046&newsid=20050827162809779&p=ohmynews>

²⁴⁸ Interestingly, already in 2006 Lee Kwangsu, a professor from Korea University published a book aimed at children describing a class trip to Kaesŏng, a combination of history, cultural and legendary backgrounds to the sites, food and customs and incorporating the recent infrastructure and developments at the KIZ. Lee Kwang-su 2006. *Urin Kaesŏng-ūro suhakyŏhaeng kanda!*, Seoul: Olbyeo.

should it start?’ (Figure 110).

At its time, it was provisioned to offer three different variants of the tour with a choice between the Pakyŏn Falls, the Yŏngt’ongsa temple or the royal tombs of T’aejo Wang Kŏn and Kongmin, ending the tour in the Kaesŏng Industrial City (the economic flagship of the same company Hyundai Asan). The three theme tours were planned and advertised, with little links to the historical background of the individual sites (Figures 111 and 112).²⁴⁹ The choice of tourist spots was slightly restricted due to government-company agreements, the leased rights of visit, possible security issues for the DPRK and the obvious choice of taste for presentable, neatly restored attractions. Perhaps these are the reasons for which also the prominent historical site of the Manwŏltae palace had not been included while the inter-Korean archaeological work took place (see section IV.III.ii). Nevertheless, these tourist spots include some of the finest and most symbolic cultural heritage assets of Kaesŏng that, thanks to the new flow of tourism confronted and engaged the visitor in a consistent way.



Figures 111 and 112: Snapshots of the animated (flash) Kaesŏng Tourist Map that can be clicked on specific tourist spots for some description and historical details online on http://www.iKaesŏng.com/main_gaesung_info.jsp

The first official tour opened on 5 December 2007 operating six days a week. The initial high demand was reflected in an over three-month long waiting list and comparatively high travel

²⁴⁹ Throughout its one-year operation, only the tour option with Pakyŏn Falls had been available in the official tour programme. The tour information site http://www.iKaesŏng.com/main_gaesung_info.jsp shows a tour itinerary that rightly leaves out these non-offered sites, yet introduces them on the same webpage among the tourist spots of Kaesŏng as well as on the interactive tour information.

costs, of which more than half went to the DPRK. Already in 2005 after the first trial tourism tours, the head of Hyundai Asan commented on the high travel costs compared to the North Korean tourism destination Mt. Kūmgang-san, urging to reduce the cost per person of 150 Dollars to be paid to the DPRK for the one-day only stay in Kaesŏng (Chang Yunsŏn 2005).

The tour was designed to be for South Korean citizens with all the information material and the tour operating in Korean. However, after a few successful ‘trial’ months, the Korea Tourism Office enhanced its efforts to sell the Kaesŏng tour to foreigners, too, inviting foreign travel agencies and journalists to promote this new addition to the offers of one-day trips from Seoul.²⁵⁰ The established daily quota of visitors reached its peak from March to July 2008 with around 500 visitors. The visitor number also shows an increase after the opening of a KORAIL (Korean Train Company) office in southern town Pusan, which offered special trains to Kaesŏng on 28 March and 18 April 2008.

Yet, the tourism operation still remained rather vulnerable to inter-Korean political events, like the pending nuclear issue and responding sanctions. Potential tourists were also concerned about the uncertainty about the DPRK’s future with Kim Jong Il’s current bad health that stopped them from visiting. Then, the South Korean tourism to Mt. Kūmgang-san in the DPRK had been barred after the deathly shot of a South Korean tourist walking in a restricted access area on 11 July 2008. This event was highly mediated and asked for enhanced security and legislation agreements between the Korean states. Although the Kaesŏng tourism was not interrupted, the event had consequences. In the months after the shooting, the visitor quota to Kaesŏng decreased, falling below 300 in September and November 2008 (Figure 113).

²⁵⁰ Like the DMZ tourist sites that have been created to quench peoples’ curiosity on this unique area where tension and peace coincide, Kaesŏng too was to attract foreign tourists. The recent history of the Korean War, its relics and the so attractively odd manifestations of the current North Korean regime appear to fascinate the most. This is true to a certain degree for all types of visitors. If they visit for tourist, business or academic purposes everyone is burdened with a very high set level of prejudices they want to see confirmed and that make the visit in the first place so appealing, namely experiencing the exotic of the ‘Hermitage Country’ on the extinct. Nevertheless one travel agent from a group of German travel agents invited by the KTO in a promotion to discover the Korean tourism potential for its German clients told me that although he very much enjoyed the trip, it would not become part of a German travel tour as the unreliable political situation and resulting Kaesŏng tour cancellations (sic!) could complicate the travel agents’ job.

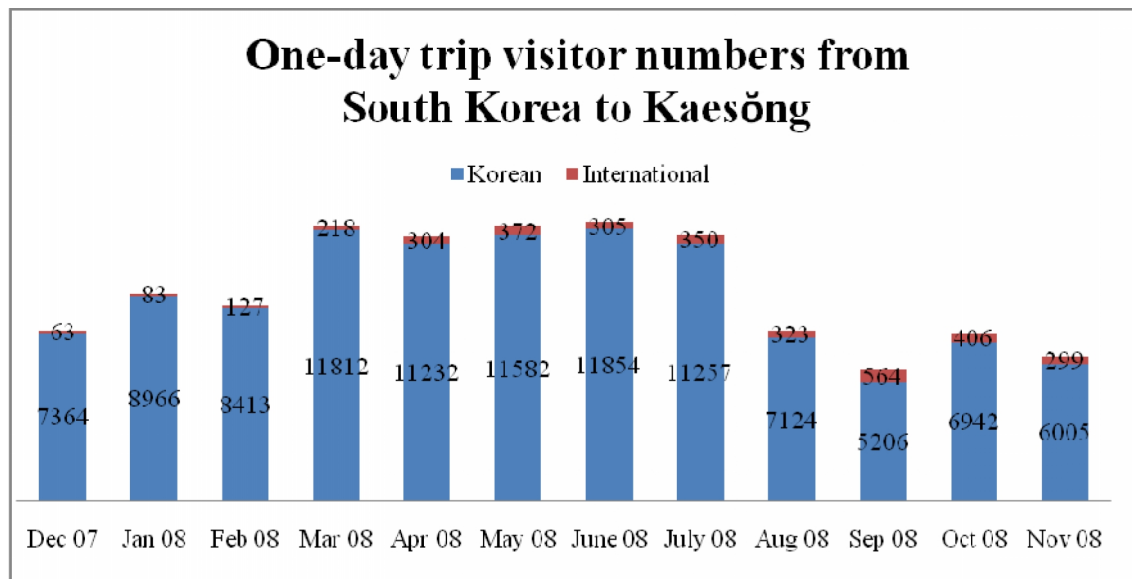


Figure 113: Kaesŏng visitor numbers (Data source: KTO)

Unfortunately, escalating tensions following the hardened South Korean policy towards North Korea under President Lee Myung Bak, and North Korea's attempt to subdue his administration and press to change its policy,²⁵¹ led to the interruption of the tours in December 2008. Since then, there have been on-and off going news of the possible resuming of the tours that so far has been blocked or hindered by continuous political confrontations.

Nevertheless the limited time period, the recent one-day tours to Kaesŏng allowed South Korean citizens to visit the otherwise off-limit destination. This short-lived border crossing if admittedly one sided, provided a rare opportunity to examine the tourists' self-identification with the Korean nation. Just a two-hour bus drive from central Seoul, Kaesŏng underlies complex national identifications between a negotiation of the nation-state and a cultural nation identity.

²⁵¹ In response, President Lee and his core advisers are writing this off as an 'inevitable period of adjustment in the process of normalizing the misguided inter-Korean relations of South Korea being dragged around by North Korea for the 10 years of the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations' ('The five factors'. 2008.)



Figure 114: Uri-nūn hana ‘we are one’ published in the journal National Cultural Heritage (Minjok Munhwa Yusan 2002(3)

For most visitors, the trip was necessarily charged with hopes of national unification and the excitement to experience the ‘fraternal north’ (World Research 2008, 23). Access to the cultural heritage in Kaesŏng soothes the longing for the right to walk the ground of your country, expressed in the patriotic idea of *uri nara*, our land. Sharing the possibility of engagement with these historic and symbolic heritage objects assists regaining a sense of identity and nation-building community. The management of the one-day tours encouraged this sentiment of a shared identity. So could, for instance, at the inter-Korean border controls on the North Korean side, North Korean vocal songs with unification lyrics be heard like *uri-nūn hana* ‘we are one’ (Figure 114).²⁵²

Murphy dismisses ‘the notion, made popular by Cultural Studies, that cultural consumption is a political act, or at least an act with political significance. Spiking one’s hair, or listening to naughty lyrics, or gyrating to unusual rhythms has mild social implications but no political consequences at all.’ However addressing more the popular art, concessive he adds that ‘only serious art that possesses a transcultural power can adequately address the great historical and political questions that confront nations at war or states embroiled in chronic conflict’ (Murphy 2010).

It is this ‘transcultural power’ of the symbolical content in many cases of popular interpretations of cultural heritage that is valued, rather than the specific historical information it contains. The topics and notions cultural heritage alludes to or evokes a connection to, tend to dominate the purely aesthetic value. This can be explained with topics having a narrative, a narrative that can be modelled to the contemporary concerns of peoples’ lives (Holtorf 2010,

²⁵² The song can be downloaded and listened to inclusive the Korean lyrics under the following link <http://www.big.or.jp/~jrldr/w/to10.html>.

43). A visible change of narratives or appreciation of cultural heritage is accordingly due to changing socio-political contexts. If the group or social relationship is disturbed by politics (crisis), for instance in rivalling factions, which narratives change and if, how? What are the interpretation patterns in the past and today? Is it only the universal aesthetic value that remains static and in common? Investigating these questions, the research is not so much concerned on how the past was, but how it has been perceived, promoted, interpreted, forgotten and remembered. In order to observe the experience of South Korean tourists to Kaesŏng, I joined the tour starting from Seoul in September 2008. This allowed me to observe the behaviour of visitors and tour guides at first hand, and speak directly to some of the travellers about their experiences. The informality of this research methodology was imposed by the South Korean organisers who prevented more formal methods.²⁵³ However, the organisation did kindly allow me to use their customer satisfaction questionnaire of the tour.²⁵⁴

The individual person, but also a social group as a whole evaluates cultural heritage based on its understanding and preconceptions of the past. Value is a judgement, a judgement of what is good and important. Often the cultural heritage value for the individual presents itself as a reflection and ultimately a judgement on ideals and idols that frequently result from the political sentiment of the given time. These ideals and idols are constituted through a web of different thematic categories, like the class ideal of education (ability deciphering the literary codes, inscriptions, scholarly, literati idols), political ideals of state and ideal leadership, ideal behaviour and virtues, and judgements on the ideal belief and disbelief (myths and legends, (ancestral) worship, guide narratives, state system). Therefore these historiographies will be introduced according to some recurring general themes.

Beginning with an overview of the changing themes and attitudes towards the cultural heritage sites in Kaesŏng from historical times until today, the following subchapters will look into selected Kaesŏng's tourist attractions on the basis of standard historical records, legends that were appropriated over time, and contemporary tourist's perception of Kaesŏng cultural relics. Particularly the coverage of Kaesŏng's cultural heritage and general heritage discussions in

²⁵³ Beginning with 9 July 2008, the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO) had introduced a questionnaire concerning the tourists' needs, aspirations and contentment with the tour offer, but it did not include questions about the interpretation given.

²⁵⁴ I am very grateful for the support I received from Mr. Kim Sunghun, deputy director in the KTO Frankfurt office who not only forwarded and coordinated my requests to the KTO head office, but also provided me with a free Kaesŏng tour ticket and the KTO questionnaire results.

documents, newspapers, journals and travelogues, historical and contemporary, will allow tracking the development of interpretations of individual sites, as recurrent or changing perceptions through time.

In conclusion, the current museum exhibition will serve as an example to illuminate the still dominant dichotomies between state and nation, collective and individual cultural memory, historical and emotional perceptions, and the factor of taste and distinction not only by education level and class but by political system as seen in the comments and experiences of the South Korean tourists.

As described in previous chapters, state and professionals, directly or indirectly, shaped and channelled the meanings of cultural heritage. Although these authoritarian constructions of meaning are significant, the transmission of the consumers should not be underestimated. This chapter is built on the assumption that the consumption, which is the study, presentation, engagement, and simple daily confrontation, of cultural relics actively constructs social reality as opposed to merely reflecting it.

V.II IDEALS AND IDOLS

Koryŏ society was a highly stratified society consisting of aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. North Korean historiographers categorise the Koryŏ dynasty as a feudal period as the social status was principally based on genealogical considerations. The aristocracy (*kwijok*) enjoyed many privileges that brought it in close relationship with the royal house, like intermarriage, and office holding (Deuchler 1992, 32). With the institution of the civil service examination system in the 10th year of King Kwangjong (958) the officialdom was somewhat regulated and advantaged the scholarly officials against the military ones. In the Koryŏ period, the national and local educational systems were closely related to the civil service examinations originally devised in China as ways for selecting their governmental officials. Therefore, when in 995 the officialdom was generally divided into ‘two lines of officials’, the so-called *yangban*, the civil (*munban*) officials clearly superseded the military (*muban*) ones until the military revolt of 1170 gave rise to a power balance between the *yangban* (Deuchler 1992, 33).

Although birthright was the first condition for officialdom, knowledge and scholarship were important requisites to hold government posts. Thus, in preparation for examination and officialdom, education became a matter of foremost importance. Already in 992, the Koryŏ dynasty established the *Kukchagam* (the National Academy), which included three colleges.²⁵⁵

From the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910), Confucianism became a core ideology in order to cultivate bureaucrats who lead the people and to edify those who were able to follow Confucian ethics and values. Leaving behind a rich legacy of reference material in form of documents, paintings and shaping the prevailing views and discourse of their time, no social group gave more form to the contemporary picture and its interpretation than the scholarly class. Understanding the scholars’ values and the tradition of references is therefore instrumental.

Apart from being the ancient capital and location of royal ancestors, the choice of Kaesŏng as a travel destination also attracted the intellectual travellers to follow the artistic or historic

²⁵⁵ These colleges were the *Kukchahak* (Higher Chinese Classical College), *Taehak* (High Chinese Classical College), and *Samunhak* (Four Portals College). Subsequently, during King Injong’s reign (r. 1122-1146), the institution added three more colleges under the *Kukchagam*: *Yurhak* (Law College), *Sŏhak* (Calligraphy College), and *Sanhak* (Accounting College).

footsteps of famous people and their normative good acts and achievements. Generations of visitors were so stimulated to copy and continue the tradition of cultural productions and ultimately create them anew. Particularly the judgment of the Chosŏn travellers²⁵⁶ touching the topics of loyalty and treason are interesting comparisons to today's political north-south Korean tourism. More so, the prose narratives of some Chosŏn literati give important insight in the travel routes, travel behaviour and individual thoughts on the experienced. To the contemplation on the historical fate of states provoked by moral misconduct and decadence, the memory of ancient places and monuments is notably connected to historical personas (and their history changing action in situ). Related to the visitors own profession and interest, they also follow the footsteps (i.e. the inscriptions and ancestral shrines) of model literati, Confucian scholars and political leaders.

Yet, despite these interests provoked by their background of class (taste) and ideology (politics of the time), the visual remain (cultural heritage) also stands as a reminder of a conscious process of forgetting. The disappearance of stones and ruins is lamented. A poem by the early Chosŏn period scholar Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504), for instance, depicts the once powerful Wangnyunsa temple built in the second year of T'aejo Wang Kŏn 919 at the foot of Mount Songaksan as empty and deserted, with dust on its pagoda. It further describes how a farmer took a door stone as a marker after ploughing the nearby field (Häußler 2004, 50, n.37). Like him, other intellectuals contemplated on the contrast between the transitory nature of dynasties (human actions) and the eternal process of nature. Further they indirectly lament the ignorance of ordinary people who do not share the grief about perished times, only concerned with their daily affairs in the present, for instance the using of temple stones for marking a field or more recently taking away stones from the Manwŏltae royal palace site as building material for the Kaesŏng River Improvement Work (*Tonga Ilbo* 1928.3.27). At the same time a new and better function of an historical site or object is affirmed against its previous 'misjudged' and underestimated value. In addition the oral traditions are subject to constant critique, might they be judged as superstition of ignorant people or emotional attachment to a particular past period. As indicated by this judgement of the visiting elite, the transmitted cultural history is basically only one of the rulers and scholarly class. The common, even the common local people are not

²⁵⁶ Some of the best known Kaesŏng travelogues of Chosŏn period scholars were recently newly compiled and translated into contemporary Korean by Chŏn Kwansu in the book titled *Chosŏn people's Kaesŏng travel* (조선 사람들의 개성 여행) in 2008. A more complete offer of travelogues in original text and translations is made available free of charge online, for example, on the sites of DB of Korean classics <http://db.itkc.or.kr>

visibly part of it. On the contrary, the Chosŏn period travellers to Kaesŏng like to use them as narrative figures that are depicted as superstitious and ignorant about the historical value of the remains around them, even contributing to their decay by ploughing the ground of past remains or using stones to mark their fields and built houses.

One major course of Kaesŏng travellers in the beginning of the Chosŏn period as seen through travelogues is starting from the former royal residence, the Kŏntŏkjŏn or commonly called Manwŏltae palace that burnt down to the foundation stones during king Kongmin's reign. Häußler (2008) already documented the literary tradition that described the ruins of the former palace as a metaphor for the world inherent nature of birth and decay. Especially for scholars who refused to serve in office, the metaphor stood concomitant for the vanity of the officialdom and court life. Powerful or not, in front of death everyone is the same. 'Come empty, return empty' (*kongsurae kongsukŏ* 空手來空手去) is still a commonly used expression. In a similar vein, nature and scenic spots were other popular *topi* to highlight the never ending and unchangeable patterns and beauty of nature in confront to the unreliable and (disloyal, corrupted) changes in people. On the last day of his visit to Kaesŏng in 1535, Chosŏn king Chungjong left a poem at the Ch'ŏnsujŏng Hall 天壽亭 near the Pakyŏn Falls north of the town taking these opposites as topic (*Chungjong Sillok* 78:26b).

There are clouds flouting through the many mountain tops and valleys
I stayed five days in Kaegyŏng and return today.
The shadow on the distant mountain appears as if covered in silk
The landscape is unchanging but people are not who they used to be.

The fragility of the narratives of the past recounts the tangled relationship between history and desired ideology. This fragile bond between the past and the present becomes particularly obvious in turbulent times and political crisis. Cultural heritage interpretation and its narratives are explicit and implicit tools to (re-) build political legitimacy of a favoured party and deconstruct the one of the enemy. Then, the role of the scholar official reveals its two sides of debatable exemplary conduct, to guard and serve as a model of proper conduct and moral judgement towards the ruler or turning his back in disgust of vanity and improper behaviour. Unwavering loyalty and treacherous behaviour that may become loyalty in retrospect are best tested and observed during times of political unrest and change.

Kaesŏng, the Koryŏ period capital, is the scene to a story of loyalty and treason during the dynastic change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn. In the web of relationships between the protagonists, threats of loyalties between the rulers, serving scholarly and military officials, and Buddhist monks are strengthened or cut. Some of the recurrent illustrious figures in the tale of the dynastic change are King Kongmin and King U, generals Yi Sŏnggye and Ch'oe Yong, the scholar official Chŏng Mongju, and the monk Sindon.

As their names will come up more often and their roles are important to understand the political dynamics and their relation to the interpretation of historical sites and artefacts, I will summarise the major historical events and their role as commonly interpreted.

King Kongmin and Sindon

It was in the latter part of the fourteenth century that Neo-Confucianism took significant hold in Korean thought as a retreat for many young scholars offended by a century of Mongol domination and angered by the corrupt influence of Buddhism at the court (Grayson 2002, 102). They criticised Buddhist corruption in particular, but also favourism at court in general. There are frequent critiques of Chosŏn period writers of Buddhist monks and their abuse of power granted by the kings. No other monk better than Sindon personifies this critique.

Following a dream that he thought predicted that a Buddhist monk would save his life when attacked in his sleep, King Kongmin promoted the mysterious monk Sindon (?-1371) to a lofty

position within his court. With the death of Kongmin's wife, queen Noguk, at childbirth in 1365, Kongmin secluded more and more to Buddhism indifferent to politics, while Sindon became increasingly influential and powerful. At first Sindon toiled to improve the lives of the peasants with great opposition from the ministers. However, with the king's support he grew increasingly ruthless and corrupt. Eventually Sindon was banished to the town Suwon and executed in 1371 and in 1375 the worst part of Kongmin's earlier dream came true. After finding out that another court official named Hong fathered the child of one of his concubines, Kongmin decided to have him killed, so that the paternity of the child would not become public. But an eunuch, whom the king had told of his intent, went to Hong and informed him about the plan. Hong and the eunuch went to Kongmin's bedroom and stabbed him in his sleep.

Sindon came from the Kaesŏng Yŏnboksa temple 演福寺, located in the middle of the capital. It was founded in 1314 under King Ch'ungsukwang and was well frequented by Kongmin, who donated rice and money. A good century after the events around Kongmin and Sindon, in 1477, Yu Hoin and his travel companions meet a monk in Yŏnboksa temple. Inside the main hall, the Nŭnginjŏn, the monk notes that the Bodhisattva statue among the three Buddhist sculptures is originally from Mount Hwasan. According to him, when the 'rebel Sindon' seized power of the country, it was moved here by boat (Yu 1477 in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 45).²⁵⁷

The relics of Yŏnboksa temple were later interwoven into Chosŏn dominant memories. Due to the destructive temple fire in 1563, only two relics remain. One is a stele dated to the third year of Yi T'aejo written and inscribed by two scholars who started office under King Kongmin, but both also continued to be active as government officials under the new Chosŏn dynasty. Today the stele's table is lost and only its turtle shaped stone base and the carved stone roof with a small inscription 'Yŏnboksat'ap Chungch'angjigi 演福寺塔重創之記' (Record of Yŏnbok-sa

²⁵⁷ Probably the relocation of the Buddha statue was part of the planned restoration and embellishments of the Yŏnboksa temple (earlier also called Kwangt'ongbojae-sa or shortened Pojesa 普濟寺), temple when Sindon served as regent, that is, sometime between 1365 and 1371. Restoration of the temple and its famed five-story pagoda had been attempted earlier during King Kongmin's reign, but for reasons that remain unclear these efforts to restore the pagoda failed. King Kongyang nevertheless attempted once again to restore the temple, but his efforts soon met the opposition of Kim Chasu 金子粹(d.u.), Kim Ch'o 金貂(d.u.), Pak Ch'o (朴礎 1367-1433), and others from the Confucian Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館) who, citing the misallocation of limited state resources, called for the immediate abandonment of the restoration project (Ahn Juhn-Young 2009, 47).

pagoda renovation) remain (Ko 2007, 159 *Koryŏ Sibŏ* 1935. 6.1 + 7.1). Visiting the still intact temple in 1477, Ch'ae Su (1449-1515) writes:

There is a tall monument stele west of a (bell) tower. The inscription is a text by Kwŏn Kŭn²⁵⁸ [that dates the stele to 1393] that was inscribed by Sŏng Sŏklin.²⁵⁹ In the east, on top of the [5-story, ca. 60m high] tower was a big bronze bell with a long inscription by Yi Kok.

The poem by the Koryŏ scholar-official Yi Kok (李穀 1298-1351), the father of the great Neo-Confucian scholar and Koryŏ loyalist Yi Saek (李穡 1328-1396), was inscribed by Sŏng Sadal 成士達 and dates the bronze bell²⁶⁰ to 1346 (Figure 116).

²⁵⁸ Kwŏn Kŭn (權近, 1352-1409) passed the civil service exam in 1368 (Kongmin 17), and after the establishment of the new Chosŏn dynasty had done a great service in laying a strong foundation of Neo-Confucianism in Chosŏn. He is the author of 양촌집 under the name 문충. I wonder why he then, after the turn of the dynasty wrote the text for a stele of a prominent Buddhist temple strongly associated with Kongmin and Sindon?

²⁵⁹ Sŏng Sŏklin (成石璘, 1338-1423) passed the civil service exam in 1357 (Kongmin 6). In the Chosŏn dynasty he received a government post under the prime minister, authored 독곡집 under the name 문경.

²⁶⁰ For the Chinese text and its Korean translation see: Ko 2007, 166. Ko Yusŏp mentions in 1935 that on a visit to Kaesŏng 'last year' (according to the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* from 1933.07.25, the visit must have been taken place in July 1933) the Dutch professor for Tibetan Buddhism Johannes Rahder (1898-1988), chair for Japanese Language and Cultures in Leiden University, was asked to read and translate the Sanskrit inscription on the bell. After giving the rough translations, he was asked to forward the text to the Japanese pioneer in Indian Buddhist Studies, Professor Unrai Ogiwara at Taisho University in Tokyo for more detailed translations. The result of these was published by Ko in the article (Ko 1935.7.1 *Koryŏ sibŏ*). Thanks to Prof. Silk and Dr Breuker from Leiden University to verify the names of the Leiden and Taisho University professors.



Figure 115: Yōnboksa temple bell dated to 1346 (Ko 2007)



Figure 116: Yōnboksa temple bell detail of lower part decoration (Ko 2007)

The inscription ‘Long live the emperor!’ (*hwangje manse*) and ‘Thousand years live the king!’ (*kukwang ch’ōnch’u*) is indicative of the tributary relationship of the Koryō court to the Chinese Yuan Emperor. After the fatal destruction of the temple, it was moved into the tower of Kaesōng’s South Gate 南大門. It is the southern gate constructed as a part of the Inner Walls of Kaesōng Castle in the first years of the Chosōn dynasty, 1391-1394. Out of the number of gates recorded to have existed in the Inner walls, it is the only one that remains till today (Ri Ch’angōn 2003, 163). Yet the gate was repeatedly restored, in 1900, 1918²⁶¹ and then rebuilt in 1954 being heavily damaged after the bombings in December 1950.

²⁶¹ Seventeen repairs at Kaesōng Namdaemun for the amount of 3,853.00 are reported in the journal *Chosōn* 1931, 15(12), 91. The *Chosōn Ilbo* (1926.08.04) further reported planned restorations by the Ch’ongdokbu at Kaesōng’s Namdaemun Gate.



Figure 117: Kaesŏng South Gate with one adjunct bell pavilion, by Kang Sehwan, 1757



Figure 118: Kaesŏng South Gate behind the main market street in 1910 with still one adjunct bell pavilion



Figure 119: A contemporary view of South Gate after the rebuilding of the gate tower in 1954 flanked by two roofed entrance gates and the bell under the main roof.

During these reparations the appearance of the gate tower changed, leaving away the separate bell tower previously attached to the west. Instead the bell is hung in the main tower flanked by two small roofed entrances. During the Japanese Occupation period the bell was rung twice a day marking the times of the Inner Wall gates' closure and opening.

The personifications of a weak ruler and his discontent official who eventually turns against him are King U and Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂. The treacherous behaviour is turned into a moral necessity and in retrospect a source of legitimisation. At the old Royal Flower garden Hwawŏn founded under King Kongmin, Yu Hoin 1477 writes judgemental that it was also the place where King U, who stole the throne, enjoyed himself.

It had previously been destroyed. Solely an oak tree is standing high and alone over the half ruined P'algakjŏn Hall 八角殿. Behind the P'algakjŏn there still remains a man-made garden encircled in stones with flowers blooming. Sin U (辛禡, King U) hold daily parties in the garden and childishly plotted a conquest

against the Ming armies that had gained power over the Chinese Yuan dynasty and occupied Manchuria and parts of north-eastern Koryŏ. King U and the distinguished Koryŏ general Ch'oe Yŏng²⁶² wanted to attack the Ming trying to establish the Ch'ollyong commandery and

²⁶² Ch'oe Yŏng 崔榮 (1316 – 1388) was a Korean general born in Chŏlwon, Kangwon Province. At 36 years of age he became a national hero when he successfully put down a rebellion by Cho Ilshin who had proclaimed himself king. As a service from the tributary state, Ch'oe Yŏng was sent in 1355 to help the Yuan forces squash the Red Turban Rebellion. Upon returning to Korea, he dutifully reported to King Kongmin the internal problems experienced by the waning Yuan Dynasty confronted with rising Ming. This gave the king the idea that the time was right to reclaim some of the northern territories previously lost to the Mongols. He served briefly as the Mayor of P'yŏngyang, where his efforts at increasing crop production and mitigating famine won him even

so ordered General Yi Sŏnggye in 1388 to push the Ming armies out of the Korean peninsula. However, what follows is a ridiculing of Ch'oe Yŏng when faced by his subordinate Yi Sŏnggye. Yi's army encircled the Hwawŏn and scared Ch'oe's disobedient army.

At that time our T'aejo (Yi Sŏnggye) decided the Wihwado Retreat²⁶³, returned to the capital, and triggered a coup d'état. The Flower Garden was surrounded by a force of hundreds and General Ch'oe Yŏng could not win a bit. Moreover the defence troupes in and outside the walls deserted. The army that resembled a flock of crows was not difficult to beat despite General Ch'oe's call 'Heaven helps and the people follow the king's military'.

Ch'ae Su (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 23-4) summarizing the same event, was even more obvious in his dismissal of King U referring to him as Sinu. By many King U was not accepted as a legitimate king. U served as a puppet for the military official Yi Inim, who led a small yet powerful anti-Ming faction that assassinated King Kongmin. Then in 1374 he enthroned Kongmin's eleven year old son U. For the Koryŏ period Confucian scholar official the loyalty to his sovereign is ideally based on the sovereign's moral ability, and foremost his dynastic family descent (Deuchler 1992, 45). The dubious circumstances as well as the ability to be a good sovereign questioned the legitimacy of King U as an able monarch. The newly established Chosŏn dynasty justifies the dynastic change by pointing on the immaturity and immoral conduct. Even the last supportive argument of dynastic succession and family relation was neglected as Kongmin and his deceased wife did not leave any male heir to the throne. Therefore Kongmin decided to claim as his own a certain boy who had been born to one of the concubines. So it was reported that U was born to a palace slave girl. As this particular woman

more attention as a national hero. In 1363, he distinguished himself further when the powerful minister Kim Yonan tried to overthrow the government. Sindon engineered false accusations of misconduct against Ch'oe Yong was restored to his previous position and immediately sent to fight pirates in 1376. Yi Sŏnggye was his subordinate in the fights against these pirates and their reclaim of the town Kongju. (cf. how T'aejo Wang Kŏn, too, used to be a subordinate to Kungye, and had him killed to start a new dynasty) Records differ as to what happened after his defeat at the Hwawŏn Garden, although it seems likely that he was banished to Koyang and later beheaded in the name of the government controlled by Yi Sŏnggye, his former subordinate. Before the execution, he was famously known to have predicted that grass would never grow on his grave, due to his unjust demise. And of course, grass never did grow on his grave, known as Chŏkbun 赤墳, which conveys manifold meanings, from red as the unjust blood, empty as in without grass, or also sincerity grave. In 1979, the first sprouts of grass were reported growing from General Choi's grave.

²⁶³ Yi Sŏnggye explained his retreat and the sacking of the capital declaring King U's policy of attack as wrong for the following four reasons: 1) a small country should not attack a larger one; 2) a military campaign should not proceed during the summer agricultural season; 3) this could provide an opening for Japanese pirates; and 4) the seasonal rain would damage bows and cause epidemics.

had spent much time with Sindon a further the rumour was that U was not at all the son of King Kongmin, but of the monk Sindon, therefore mockingly nicknamed Sin-u, instead of U-Wang (king). Concluding on King U's fate ,who was sent to exile and later killed, Yu Hoin (in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 66-7) remarks with little empathy that U ignored the saying that disregarding the riches in the end one cannot stand over the doings of a dirty world.

Sŏnjukkyo Bridge

The Koryŏ scholar Chŏng Mongju²⁶⁴ is remembered as the ideal scholar and dynastic loyalist and one of the most prominent figures in the period of dynastic change. At the age of twenty-three he passed his civil examinations with all possible honours.²⁶⁵ True to his standing and family tradition, he was a faithful and well trusted public servant to King Kongmin and the succeeding two last Koryŏ kings and on several occasions he was sent as an emissary from the Koryŏ court abroad. In 1367 he became an instructor at the Sŏnggyun'gwan National Academy whilst simultaneously holding a government position.

Although Chŏng Mongju participated in the forceful succession and installed King Kongyang on the throne in 1389, he opposed the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty and the foundation of a new one as promoted by General Yi Sŏnggye and later founder of the emerging Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). The popular narrative transmitted into our times has Chŏng refuse to accept the advent of the Chosŏn dynasty because it contradicted the loyalty which a civil servant should have to his monarch.²⁶⁶ On 4 April 1392 Chŏng Mongju was reputedly assassinated on the Sŏnjukkyo bridge (Figure 120) for his refusal of political cooperation in a plot to overthrow the Koryŏ dynasty. Sources disagree with each other on who personally is to be blamed for the murder (Yi partisans, Yi Pangwŏn or Cho Yŏnggyu 趙英珪 and others on the order of Yi Pangwŏn, (Ko 2007, 307), but univocally agree on a politically motivated one done in favour of the Yi Sŏnggye faction.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Chŏng Mongju (鄭夢周 1337-1392), pen name: Poŭn; posthumous name Munch'ung; Chŏng came out of a Yangban scholar family, his great grandfather Chŏng Sŭbmyŏng already served in a high office for King Ŭijong (r.1146-1170) and also his father Chong Ungwan 鄭云瓘 was serving in government as a high scholar official. He was born in P'ohang town (in the south-west of the Korean peninsula), where he was commemorated and linked to the 'New Village Movement' during the 1970s in ROK. He therefore plays an important role and is rich in symbolism for South Koreans visiting the spot.

²⁶⁵ A legend says that on this occasion his mother sew a set of ceremonial clothes for him to wear. On his inauguration the cloth lining turned all red. This episode is supposed to be symbolic for the heart of a mother whose greatest concern is to hold steadfastly on the one of her offspring (Chu 2006(4), 28).

²⁶⁶ For a debate and doubt on the loyal behaviour of Chŏng Mongju see below, Chapter V.II.iii.

²⁶⁷ For a source that mentions Yi Pangwŏn (1367-1422), the fifth son of Yi Sŏnggye, as the murderer. See: *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* 211:1a.

A former Kaesŏng resident, Mr Rhee Sang-eun 李相殷 told me his version of the story that convicts Yi Pangwŏn and his henchman Cho Yŏnggyu: *In 1392 Yi T'aejo fell from a horse when hunting and stayed at his home, the later Mokch'ŏngjŏn, to recuperate. P'oun Chŏng Mongju paid the patient a visit. Yi Pangwŏn, Yi's son, ordered his henchman Cho Yŏnggyu to stroke Chŏng Mongju dead with an iron hammer on his way back on*

Since the story of the loyal hero has been as a source of inspiration on Confucian moral principles of loyalty for one's sovereign for many visiting scholars and local officials, particular for those who lived in politically critical times (Häußler 2004, 54). Eventually the Confucian moral symbolism shifted to one of national patriotism, and Chŏng Mongju and his blood insinuating for the sacrifice for one's country. Nurtured by the moving, if saddening symbolic message, the direct and visible marker of Chŏng's loyalty and sacrifice, the Sŏnjukkkyo Bridge and its blood stain (Figure 120) became more popular in association with Chŏng than his tomb or ancestral shrine.²⁶⁸ What could better express the martyr than blood?



Figure 120: Front view of Sŏnjukkkyo and the legendary blood stain.

Already the date of the murder '4 April' conveys a mystical element as the number four in Korean, *sa*, is homophone and symbolic for death. Until today two narratives evolve around Chŏng's blood on the bridge that has become the evocative symbolic expression of his exemplary virtues. One very popular legend everyone attributes to Sŏnjukkkyo today underlines Chŏng's qualities as Confucian scholar. It states that the same night bamboo grew out of the bridge stone (*kyoban* 橋畔) where the loyal victim's blood was spread, as documented in the chapter Sasilgi of the *P'ounjip* (Ko 1937). In East Asian tradition bamboo is a symbol of

Sŏnjukkkyo. However, Cho Yŏnggyu could not bear killing P'oun directly and hit the head of Chŏng's horse, so he was executed after falling off the horse. (email reply from 28 June 2010). This story line is identical to one published in the Farmers Weekly *nongmin chubo* (1946.09.28) inclusive an illustration of the killing.

²⁶⁸ Chŏng Mongju was originally buried in Kaesŏng P'ungdŏk (豐德). The initial grave was moved in March 1406, the sixth ruling year of his possible murderer Yi Pangwon, to the current location in Yongin, Mohyŏn-myŏn, where the corpse was buried together with his wife's. A burial inscription stele and tablet are installed in the grave area. The stone tomb stele was erected with the front inscription saying: '高麗守門下侍中鄭夢周之墓'. The tomb tablet, *myop'yo* 묘표, praising his literature virtue, was installed by Chosŏn period university students in the same year as Chŏng's canonisation in 1517. In 1970 additional elements were added like the burial wall, the stone mound encirclement, stone railing and others. Two years later it was designated Kyŏngi province cultural memorial no. 1. In 1980 further tomb buildings were added like a stone monument shelter and a ritual hall.

loyalty and uprightness as external forces can bend it very strongly, yet never break it and thus a significant attribute to the loyalist scholar. This event is also marked in the bridge's name that is said to have changed from the previous Sŏn-ji-gyo 善地橋 to Sŏn-juk-gyo, *juk* meaning bamboo. Since, the bamboo is long gone and there is none to be seen far and wide, but is preserved in the name. Until today the name stubbornly remained despite some scholars who question exactly this connection between Chŏng's murder, the subsequent growing of the bamboo and the bridge's name change. The art historian and Kaesŏng Museum director Ko Yusŏp, for instance, called the legend a 'half-truth' in his article from 1939. He questions this legend, or at least the deduced name change of the bridge, providing examples from historical records that prove that the bridge's name Sŏnjukkyo was already in use prior to Chŏng's murder (Ko 2007, 341-344, 'Sŏnjukkyobyŏn', *Chogwang*, August 1939).²⁶⁹ Taking into account the fifteenth century document, the *Sinjŭngdonggukyŏjisŭnglam* (新增東國輿地勝覽) that is the earliest known to refer to the bridge as Sŏnjukkyo, he suggests that the name change must have occurred sometime between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Hereby he relies and refers on the line of argumentation presented earlier in 1847 in the book *Koryŏ kodojing* 高麗古都徵 by Han Chae-ryŏm (韓在濂 1775-1818).

Sŏnjukkyo Bridge stands in the town district Sŏnjukdong in eastern Kaesŏng crossing the little river Rogyaech'ŏn (IPA 2004, 265), in reference to its famous bridge Sŏnjukkyo often also called Sŏn'gyoch'ŏn. The small (Length: 8,35 m, Width: 3,36 m) stone bridge is made of several rows of five stone slabs resting on four bridge support beams, *kyogak* 橋脚. It is said to originate from the Kaesŏng capital construction period in 919 CE, but the earliest recorded mention is in the *Koryŏsa*, dating it before 1216.²⁷⁰ As a symbolic marker in connection to the murder of Chŏng Mongju the bridge is designated a national treasure (*kukpo yujŏk* 159, NRICH 2006; *kukpogŭb* 36).

²⁶⁹ He refers to the chapter Mokŭnjip of the *Koryŏsa*. This argument is somewhat questionable itself, as although this passage of the *Koryŏsa* refers to an event five years prior to Chŏng's death (14th year of King U), it was written and published after his death.

²⁷⁰ 1216 is the year of death of Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn (1149-1216) who documented the bridge in the *Koryŏsa* under the name Sŏnjikyo.



Figure 121: Sŏnjukkyo with the blocking stones and railing installed in 1780, April 2008; Note the added stone pillar to hold the central railing beam.

Mokch'ŏngjŏn Hall

Yi Sŏnggye, the founder of the succeeding Chosŏn dynasty is said to have lamented Chŏng's death and rebuked his son Yi Pangwŏn, because Chŏng was a highly regarded and influential politician in the courts of China and Japan. Yi Pangwŏn, in his function as the third Chosŏn king King T'aejong, who allegedly incited the murder of Chŏng Mongju, bestowed upon Chŏng the posthumous title of *munch'ung* 文忠, loyal scholar.

At the same time King T'aejong had his father's original living place (another one used to be at Kyŏngdŏkkung) in the eastern part of Kaesŏng, near Sunginmun Gate, rebuilt and turned into a memorial hall in 1418, calling it Mokch'ŏngjŏn Hall (Häußler 2004, 45).²⁷¹ The Mokch'ŏngjŏn

²⁷¹ There were two officials (*ch'ambong*) who took care of this memorial hall. *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, k.4, 14a (Häußler 2004, 45). During the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592 it was burnt down, but in 1657 a surrounding wall was built. In 1693, subsequent to the site visit of king Sukjong the same year, a memorial stele, the Mokchongjŏn stele (3.65m high placed on a turtle base) was placed in front of the hall that is designated on the preservation list (보존급 No 1630). In May 1902 an ancestral hall for the deceased king, *yŏngjŏn* 영전, was reconstructed where the royal portrait *ch'osang* 초상, of Yi Sŏnggye was placed. Further, a remembrance hall, *chaesil* 재실, and servant quarters, *haenglang* 행랑, flanking the entrance gate were built (On October 1, 1902 the newly restored hall was inaugurated, Kojong 39 년 임인, 광무 6, 8 월 30 일). However, already in 1908 the royal ancestor portrait disappeared, taken by Japanese administrators (*Kukminbo*, 1937-01-27 '개성의 고적'). The Japanese *Korea Travel Guide* (1934 *Chosŏn yŏhaeng annaegi* 朝鮮旅行案内記) writes that the royal portrait is taken charge of by the head of the Social Welfare and Employment department of the Government General. During the Korean War most of the accompanying buildings were destroyed through bombs. In November 1954 it was reconstructed and repaired to its current form with a surrounding stone wall, *tamjang* 담장, a ritual 정자각 and a memorial hall 비각재실. (Interestingly, despite the sharp criticism against the treacherous act of the Yi dynasty in North Korean materials, its founder's memorial hall was quickly restored. However, I could not find any mention of that restoration in North Korean heritage journals!).

was also the same house Chǒng was coming from, before being murdered on his way back home.

The early Chosŏn intellectual Kim Sisŭp (1435-1493) visited Kaesŏng on several occasions and incited a significant boom in literature dealing with Kaesŏng.²⁷² In critique against the usurpation of the 15 year old king Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) by his uncle King Sejo (r. 1455-1468), Kim refused to serve in government office. The usurpation was followed up by a bloody purge of opposing scholars who plotted against King Tanjong, six of them famously known as the *sajuksin*, (six dead loyal subjects) punished to death and another six who decided to go out of government office, the *saengjuksin* (living loyal six subjects 生六臣). In Kaesŏng Kim found the adequate symbolism for moral uprightness and the natural course of rise and decay. He inspired younger intellectuals with his interest in the history and actual state of the old Koryŏ capital (Häußler 2004, 51). Reminiscent to the political circumstances of their time, Chǒng Mongju served as the symbol and model of a loyal scholar for a new generation of loyalist scholars refusing to serve king Sejo.

However, for Kim Sisŭp Kaesŏng was not only the place where the Koryŏ dynasty met its end, but more importantly the place, where Yi Sŏnggye founded the Chosŏn dynasty. He deliberately visited the Mokch'ŏng Hall situated in the eastern part of the city near Sungin-mun Gate to bow to the portrait of the great dynastic founder. In his poem 'In the Mokch'ŏng Hall' Kim Sisŭp alludes to Yi Sŏnggye's 'great act of founding' (Translation Häußler 2004, 45). Nam Hyoon, another of the six living loyal subjects, also gives an account of the importance of paying respect to the founder's portrait in the Mokch'ŏng Hall. 'Everyone was wearing court attire, but as I was not equipped according to the official example, I did not dare to have a royal audience and just went out looking around the servant quarters.' (Nam 1485 in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 82)

²⁷² To a considerable degree, this literature was produced by young intellectuals who had refused to serve because of their political or moral convictions or who for other reasons spent their life outside the bureaucratic system.



Figure 122: A view on the building complex of Mokch'ong Hall (1916)

This shows that in the early Chosŏn period following the events of the 1455 purge, the sites of the Chosŏn foundation father was the subject of foremost importance. Likewise did the early Chosŏn scholar Yu Hoin put the ‘treacherous’ behaviour of Sambong Chŏng Tojŏn in perspective.²⁷³ Sambong studied in the Koryŏ dynasty under the loyalist Yi Saek together with Chŏng Mongju. He became a close associate and supporter of Yi Sŏnggye and the overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty. His loyalty shift was based on the argument that Koryŏ rulers had given up their right to rule as its legitimacy could only come from benevolent public service. However, in promotion of *Kunsinyuŭi* 君臣有義 that describes the ideal Confucian world order and faithful allegiance between loyal subjects to a virtuous sovereign, Yu also praises Chŏng’s virtue and service as a loyal servant to his king. At this time there still seemed to be no sentiment or question of the rightful establishment of the Chosŏn dynasty. Ko Yusŏp (1939.8, in 2007, 342) already pointed to the fact that the early Chosŏn scholars visiting Kaesŏng only came to see Chŏng’s old house, and not the Sŏnjukkyo bridge and that there was no sense of his murder or other deception. Based on the account of Nam Hyoon’s travelogue from 1485,

²⁷³ Chŏng Tojŏn (鄭道傳 1342- 1398), penname Sambong, was one of the most influential Neo-Confucian ideologues. He was also famous for his systematic philosophical criticism of Buddhism and a revision of the legal code according to Neo-Confucian ethical and political ideals. In the dynastic succession struggle, his political ideals of a strong government in support of the king had him promote Yi Pangsŏk, the last son of Yi Sŏnggye, against the ambitious and absolutist Yi Pangwŏn, who had him killed later.

Yu Hoin writes (in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 67) how he sees a stone carving in Kaesŏng inscribed by Sambong. In its surrounding ‘three locust trees are the only things that make up the shabby place and in all directions it looked forlorn. It is written that this person is a loyalist and the other is a traitor, but is this not why we say ‘the age is hold under the skin’?’ [This is a reference to a literary classic, the *chinsŏ*, meaning as much as that although we have not spoken out something good or bad, in our inmost we certainly already have determined our high or low judgement of something].

the visiting group had a Kaesŏng elder by the name Han Su 韓壽 knowledgeable about the relics of the past dynasty as a guide thus establishing a close, and quite reliable link to the direct transmission of the Chŏng narrative. Thus the now known narrative of the Koryŏ loyalist and patriotic martyr Chŏng Mongju seems to be a newer invention and at a time rather used to be one of a loyal subject, a dutiful and principled Confucian scholar.

Sungyangsŏwŏn Lecture Hall

Officially Chŏng's story and veneration was met with some ambivalence. From early on in the Chosŏn period there were requests by single officials to canonize Chŏng Mongju. Yet, close to the time of dynastic change, the remembrance of his open opposition to Yi Sŏnggye meant that the king refused consent and the issue was not pressed (Wagner 1974, 88). Only in 1517, 125 years after his death, Chŏng Mongju was canonised into the National Academy under King Chunjong.²⁷⁴



Figure 123: Walking towards the Sungyangsŏwŏn



Figure 124: One of the two decorated stone steps to mount a horse in front of the Sungyangsŏwŏn. The historian Pak Chonjin (2006, 219) expressed his disbelief in the explanation of the tour guide saying that the Sungyangsŏwŏn was the house of Chŏng Mongju and that he used the stones at its entrance, masangsŏk and mahasŏk, to mount and dismount the horse.

After Chŏng's canonization did the Kaesŏng narrative slowly shift more openly to his loyal behaviour and scholarly virtues as reflected in the increase of visible memorials and edifices in

²⁷⁴ King Chunjong (r. 1506-1544) followed the troubled reign of Yŏnsangun (r.1494-1506) with an ousting of his predecessor and his misconduct. King Yŏnsangun was held responsible for two scholar purges, the Muo sahwa (1498) and Kapcha sahwa (1504). But his own reign, too, should become infamously known for two scholar purges, the Kimyo sahwa (1519) and the Ŭlsa sahwa (1545).

his honour. The site of his private house in direct vicinity and affiliation to the Sŏnjukkyo bridge, was at first left to decay, then was temporarily used as a Buddhist temple, its yard overgrown with grass (Yu Hoin 1477, in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 67).



Figure 125: Chŏng Mongju's portrait enshrined in the upper Munch'ungdang hall

At its location, over fifty years after Chŏng's canonisation the Kaesŏng Yusu Nam Ŭngun²⁷⁵ founded a Confucian academic institution, *sŏwŏn*, and ancestral shrine in 1573. It was built in honour of the two famous local Neo-Confucianists Chŏng Mongju and Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk (1489-1546) calling it Munch'ungdang (文忠堂, loyal scholar spirit hall).²⁷⁶ Two years later the building received a royal tablet with the name Sungyang (崧陽 high star) and was promoted to a national *sŏwŏn*. Since then it is called Sungyang-sŏwŏn 崧陽書院 and Chŏng's portrait is enshrined in the upper Munch'ungdang hall (Figure 125).²⁷⁷

Since 1668 it has housed the ancestral tablets of Hwanam Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk, Kim Yuk (1580-1658), Cho Ik, Kim Sanghŏn, and U Hyŏnbo (1333-1400) (IPA 2004, 267). Some of Kaesŏng's finest scholars throughout the Chosŏn period contributed to the fame of the lecture hall. Enclosed by a high stonewall, the front opens with a three port-gate flanked by two side buildings. Following the axis of the gate, the Great Hall is raised on a platform. Behind the Great Hall stairs are leading further up to the ancestor shrine, the Munch'ung-dang hall, also called Sadang.

In 1811 a stele called Chŏng-Mongju-sŏwŏn-stele 鄭夢周書院碑 was installed to its left. At the end of the Chosŏn period in 1823 the *sŏwŏn* was renovated and in 1871, when Taewŏngun

²⁷⁵ Yusu Nam Ŭngun (南應雲 1509-1587) also wrote and installed a memorial stele in Kaesŏng for Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk called Sŏhwadam kyŏngdŏkbi (徐花潭敬德碑) on the hill in front of the Sungyangsŏwŏn.

²⁷⁶ Today the famous educational institute, the Sungyang-sŏwŏn Lecture Hall is upgraded from the previous historical relic no 51 designation to national treasure 128.

²⁷⁷ Hŏ Namjin (2004, 90) links the opening of the Sungyang-sŏwŏn to Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk, writing that it was established after his death. Although just a speculation of mine, a further reason for the timing of the Sungyang-sŏwŏn opening might have been the proposed implementations of local institutions and academies to propagate moral values to the subject population, like most prominently suggested by the influential scholar-official Yi I (李珥, 1536 -1584).

closed down most *sŏwŏns*²⁷⁸, the Sungyangsŏwon could be reclaimed after a short period with the strong dedication of Kaesŏng Confucian scholars in the government.

The *kisilpi* stele celebrates the renovation and reclaim of the *sŏwŏn* (Figure 126). It was installed to the right side of the Munch'ung-tang in 1872. Again in 1920 the newspaper *Maeil Sinbo* (1920.04.3) reports the repair of the *sadang*. During the Korean War in 1950 it was damaged by fire and was later restored.

The encyclopaedic publication (IPA 2004, 267) states that 'Nowadays, only the ancestral tablets and portraits of Chŏng Mongju, and the famous Chosŏn period Confucians Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk and Kim Yuk are set for rituals.'

Yet the photographs of visitors show that at least since the trial tourist tours opened for South Koreans in 2005, all venerated five scholars have set ancestor tables. 'Bamboo trees are planted in the circumference of the buildings and the eaves' endings have Tanch'ŏng decorations like a temple, but no figure heads. According to a recent tourist who expresses his disbelief, the missing figurative beam endings are explained by North Korean guides as 'taken by the Japanese in 1906' (Kim Tongsik 2008).

In the course of time the bridge too, increasingly turned into an obligatory memorial site, whose important symbolism is highlighted and enhanced by the added edifices and steles in connotation to the act of loyalty.

One of Chŏng heirs, Yusu Chŏng Hoin 鄭好仁, acted for the protection of the bridge and the dignity of the ancestral death location, and restored and blocked the bridge installing stone



Figure 126: South Korean tourists trying to read the *Kisilpi* inscriptions

²⁷⁸ The political activities of lord Taewŏngun, the father of king Kojong, were met with very contrary reactions. Already in the beginning of the 20th century some historians argued that he radically reduced the number of *sŏwŏn*- academies in order to intervene the breeding of Yangban factions' battles. *In the academies the idle, good-for-nothing Confucians gathered, with the only task to conduct faction politics, and make use of their rights to exploit the farmers. It is commendable, that Taewŏngun during his dictatorship (1864-1873) conducted such decisive action against the academies* (To 1935, 128-129). Because of his strong intervention *Taewŏngun was convicted by the Confucian contemporaries as a destroyer of Korean culture, but the people was happy about his actions* (Kikutsi 1910, 31).

railings, *sŏknangan* 石欄干 in the fourth year of king Chŏngjo, 1780 (Hwang Hakju 1976; Ri Ch'angŏn 2003, 54). Part of the railing stones (*sŏkjae* 石材) added are remains from the Taranisŏk-tang 陀羅尼石幢,²⁷⁹ a Buddhist prayer hall, of the near Myogak-sa 妙覺寺 temple site, two of which are said to have Sanskrit inscriptions (Chŏng Sŏng-suk 2004, 20). Personally the only inscriptions I could make out clearly were Chinese ones on the base stones of the railing posts. A possible Sanskrit could be an inscription seen just opposite to the legendary blood stain.²⁸⁰

To ensure further trespassing, in 1796 the prominent Kaesŏng citizen Cho Kwan-jin had a second stone bridge built just next to it, called *pyŏlgyo* 別橋 (Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 167). Some stones, especially those used as railing pillars, seem to be replacements of a more recent date. The crudely used cement proves a restoration work from the twentieth century. Also at some point between 1920 and 1927 the middle railing beam must have broken out and was later supported by an additional little stone pillar. In the summer of 1926 the bridge was threatened by a flood and there was thus a plan to repair the city dam (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1926.07.05). The flooding problems must have been consistent, because according to the controversial South Korean historian Lee Pyŏngdo (李丙燾 1896-1989), the Kaesŏng river-waterway was rechanneled during the Japanese colonial period (Pak Chongjin 2006, 211). The country wide project of river improvement works aroused some opposition by locals and farmers. In Kaesŏng, the works were said to begin after the summer rains in 1927 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1927.06.01). As part of these ongoing works,²⁸¹ the Kaesŏng River Improvement Work 開城河川改修工事 took away stones from the Manwŏltae royal palace site as building material (*Tonga Ilbo* 1928.3.27). seems that of part of this rechanneling and river bed improvement project When Kim Il Sung visited the bridge in 1954, there was no water running underneath the bridge and he instructed to relive and clean it (Academy of Social Science 1991, 223).

²⁷⁹ Yun Sang-bin 2006. 'Taranisŏktang', *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* 2006(4), 27

²⁸⁰ The visiting South Korean historian Hong Yŏngŭi was also searching for the Sanskrit and couldn't make it out (Hong Yŏngŭi 2006, 195).

²⁸¹ An two year later example for continous river improvement works is the article announcing in 1930 the planned budget and start of river works in Kaesŏng Chip'a-li for the coming year (*Tonga Ilbo* 1930.09.25 開城池波里川改修工事着手, 충공비 사만팔천원으로 明年 七月 竣工豫定).

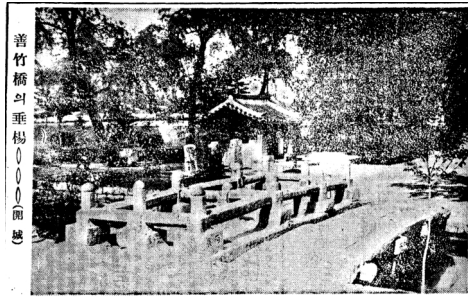


Figure 127: 'Sŏnjukkyo's willow tree',²⁸² a photograph published in one of the two major newspapers of the time denotes to the sad event at the bridge (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1940.06.06).



Figure 128: Sŏnjukkyo after 1945, already with designation marker

The travelogue from Kim Ch'anghyŏp's visit to Kaesŏng in 1671 records that

The Sŏnjukkyo bridge is located around 100 steps east of the Sungyangsŏwon. It is the place where Mr Chŏng sacrificed his life. East of the bridge stand two stelae. One carries the name of the bridge [Sŏnjukkyo] and the other is inscribed with Koryŏ Government teacher, Mister Chŏng's full virtue-stele' *Koryŏ sijung Chŏng Sŏnsaeng sŏnginbi* 高麗侍中鄭先生成仁碑'. (Kim 1671)

Slightly more touched upon his visit on Chŏng's death memorial day, 4 April 1727, the scholar official O Wŏn (吳琰 1700-1740) journalises in his travelogue *Sŏyuilgi* 西遊日記 'We dismounted the horse and thought of the wise man's loyalty so hard, I too had to cry.' He witnesses the same two stele adding the information that the 'small stele next to the bridge was inscribed with three letters 'Sŏnjukkyo' by Han Sŏkbong. I suspect the one written with 'Sŏnginbi' is also by him'. (O Wŏn 1729, in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 178)

²⁸² The photograph's capture is 'Sŏnjukkyo's willow tree (Sŏnjukkyo-ŭi suyang 善竹橋의垂楊)'. Although *suyang* is written in hanja and is thus precise in its meaning as 'willow tree', I believe it still not irrelevant that the transcription in hangŭl would allude to other associations, like the very appropriate homonym '(moral) cultivation'. A former resident of Kaesŏng who left his home for the South as an adolescent in 1950 remembers the gigantic willow tree of Sŏnjukkyo and the many cherry trees that lined the street towards it (Rhee Sang-eun 2009).



Figure 129: From left to right: 1) The ‘Ha-ma-bi’ stele instructing riders to dismount their horse; 2) Historical memorial stele for Sŏnjukkyo and Chŏng Mongju; 3) The stele inscribed by the famous early Chosŏn calligrapher Sŏkbong Hanho with three characters ‘Sŏn-juk-kyo’.

The first stele he referred to was written by the famous Kaesŏng born calligrapher Sŏkbong Hanho (石峯 韓濩 1543-1605).²⁸³ Until today it features most prominently among the others in travel and site descriptions. Next to it stands the ‘Sŏnjukkyo-kwa Chŏngmongju sajŏkpi’, a historical memorial stele for the bridge and its protagonist Chŏng. It is followed up by a ‘hamabi’ stele 下馬碑 that instructs riders to dismount their horse. Yet, as an official instruction of respect for the site it did not prevent the profane use of the Sŏnjukkyo as a washing place, as photographs from the very early twentieth century show (Figure 130). The photograph dated around 1900, on which ladies are drying their washing at Sŏnjukkyo, even shows the undated *hamabi* covered by clothes.



Figure 130: Ladies drying their washing at Sŏnjukkyo, with view towards the P'yoch'ungbi, around 1900 and 1920. Note the ‘Hamabi’ that serves to hold some linen.

²⁸³ Hanho is popularly also referred to as Han Sŏkbong. He was a county chief but his high reputation rests in his skills as calligrapher. Under King Sŏnjo he became a master calligrapher and the primary transcriber. His writing style was based on the work of the Chinese calligrapher Wang Xizhi. During his lifetime, his fame as a calligrapher was well spread even to China. Another bridge stele allegedly inscribed by him in Kaesŏng is one for the T'akt'a-kyo bridge that whereabouts are unknown (Ko 2007, 174, *Koryŏsibo* 1936.6.1). In late March 2010 North Korean news broadcasted the discovery of his tomb, tombstone and stele in the vicinity of Kaesŏng. See for instance, http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201004260102095&code=960201 or http://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2010/04/26/2010042602653.html. One legend in the book *Songdo chŏnsŏl*, a compilation of Kaesŏng legends published in Kaesŏng 2002, has Hanho as topic. (Yi Sŏngdŏk 2002, ‘Chosŏn-ŭi myŏngp'il Han Sŏkbong’, 206-214.)

Among the other stelae currently installed in the circumference of the Sŏnjukkyo, I could not make out the one with the inscriptions mentioned by Kim Ch'anghyŏp and O Wŏn. At the time of Kim's travel there must have been more than two stelae in place, for instance the Sŏngyŏwan Yuhŏbi stele of 1596 with the differing inscription (昌寧府院君文靖公成汝完遺墟).

The stele that until today is occasionally referred to as Sŏnginbi is better known under the name 'Weeping stele', *Ŭbbi* 泣碑 inside the *Ŭbbi* pavilion (Figure 132). Yusu Mok Sŏhŭm 睦敍欽 donated the stele in 1641 following his promotion to a *yusu* position.²⁸⁴ It carries the inscription: '一大²⁸⁵忠義 萬古綱常' (great loyalty's eternal moral principle). From its date and the name it could be the second stele mentioned in the two travelogues, even though the given inscription is a different one (or an unreadable additional one?). The photograph from 2008 shows how the inscriptions of some of the characters must have been hastily redrawn recently.

²⁸⁴ *Yusu* 留守 is a term for a special mayor of an important city under direct ordinance to the king or a granary clerk (Palais 1996, 465, 728).

²⁸⁵ Many descriptions of the stele, mostly blogs that frequently copy from each other, write '代' instead of '大', which would change the meaning to 'one's era everlasting moral principle'. A newspaper article on the Koryŏ relics in Kaesŏng also cites the inscription with '代' (*Tonga Ilbo* 1927.11.07). The inscription though is in such a state that I could not identify it clearly and so decided to follow the transcription by the 1930s Kaesŏng art historian Ko (2007, 309, *Koryo sibo* 1937.9.1). Nevertheless this use is questionable as in Chinese tradition it does not seem to be in practice, but rather commonly appears as the former variation 一代忠義 萬古綱常, especially for the Chinese Song general Wen Tianxiang (文天祥 1236-1283), a popular Chinese symbol of uprightness and patriotism for his resistance against the Yuan invasion of Kublai Khan. Captured in 1278, Wen refused the offer to serve the Yuan as well as to convince the remaining Song forces to surrender, and consequently suffered in prison before his execution in 1283. During this prison time he wrote the famous classic *Song of the Righteous Spirit* (Zhengqige 正氣歌). Matthew Fraleigh examines how 'men of high purpose' (*shishi*), a group of mid-nineteenth-century samurai who embraced nationalist causes, wrote poetry to fashion themselves in the image of heroes and statesmen of Chinese antiquity focusing in particular on their creative adaptation and re-envisioning of this classic. See: Matthew Fraleigh 2009. Songs of the Righteous Spirit: 'Men of High Purpose' and Their Chinese Poetry in Modern Japan, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 69(1), 109-171.



Figure 131: The 'Weeping Stele', inside the Übbi pavilion donated by Mok Söhhüm in 1641 following his entrance into the yusu position.



Figure 132: The Übbi pavilion is flanked by two further stelae.

The currently more popular name of the stele probably derives from the legends of its construction embellished and entangled to varying degrees. The earliest takes up the bamboo theme telling that every night there was a crying sound to be heard coming from the Sönjukkyo Bridge. The weeping sound was referred to as coming from a spirit angry for the dead (*sinlyöng* 神靈).²⁸⁶ The 'Weeping stele' was built next to the bridge in order to propitiate the spirit (Figure 131: The 'Weeping Stele', inside the Übbi pavilion donated by Mok Söhhüm in 1641 following his entrance into the yusu position.). The sound disappeared, and bamboo grew in the surroundings.

A later addition to the legend tells of water (dew) that was dropping from the stele like tears. Ko (1937) just mentions that this was said to have occurred during one summer, whereas a newspaper reports that the Übbi 'crying period' started in 1937 on 22 November and lasted for twenty-three days. Many people came to visit and see for themselves the miraculous crying stele (*Koryö Sibo* 1938.01.16). And already two years earlier, also in November a newspaper also reports flowing water from a memorial stele of Chöng Mongju (*Tonga Ilbo* 1935.11.26). Rhee Sang-eun however thinks to know that the legend about the water dropping 'weeping-stele' is not referring to the Sönginbi-Übbi, but to the Kjong stele inside the P'yoch'ungbi.

²⁸⁶ Thanks is due to the clarification of this legend by Rhee Sang-eun via email (2010.06.28)

Another more recent popular account tells that that stele always ‘cried’ in foresight of a national crisis, so for instance at the eve of the Korean War in spring 1950.²⁸⁷

In front of the Ŭbbi pavilion stand two memorial stelae. The western is the Sunŭibi stele (殉義碑).²⁸⁸ In 1797, one year after Cho Chingwan (趙鎮寬 1739-1808) became Kaesŏng-bu *yusu*, Kaesŏng special mayor, he composed and inscribed a poem that praises the virtuous conduct of chief clerk (*noksa* 錄事) Kim Kyŏngjo,²⁸⁹ who given the choice, did not treason his loyalty and friendship for Chŏng and died with him on the bridge. It is said that they sensed the danger and that although Chŏng warned him to stay back, Kim expressed his determination to follow Chŏng, even into death.

Cho Chingwan consciously and visibly eternalized his authorship with political position and name. Thus Kim’s noble act becomes more than a mere remembrance, but a symbolic vow to follow his exemplary conduct in service for the country.

²⁸⁷ So do some blogs of former Kaesŏng citizens now living in the South inform that at the time before the outbreak of the Korean War in spring 1950 water was continuously flowing from the stele. Then Kaesŏng was occupied and taken by the Northern forces end of 1950.

²⁸⁸ The National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage refers to the stele as *Kaesŏng Kim Kyŏngjo Sunŭibi* (開城 金慶祚殉義碑). Its website also provides a copy of the Chinese character text from the front and back by Yi Yŏnggwan (http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/_third/user/search/KBD007.jsp?ksmno=8473). Nevertheless the stele’s obvious context, none of the characters of the inscription indicate Kim Kyŏngjo explicitly, but a *noksa* rank companion of Chŏng. I therefore just call the stele *sunŭibi* as mentioned on the front inscription, literally translated, a stele placed in remembrance of a death died out of uprightness. The late nineteenth century document *Imhap’ilgi* 林下筆記, Vol 31, *Sunilp’yŏn* 旬一編, titled *P’oŭn’s noksa* ‘圃隱의 錄事’ mentions the 珍島金氏世譜, a family register, *chokpo*, from 1523 as an accepted source to identify the above described *noksa* as Kim Kyŏngjo. The inscription dates the stele to 1797.

²⁸⁹ Kim Kyŏngjo (金慶祚, ?-1392), was the son of the Prime Minister Kim Kuju who served under King Kongmin.



Figure 133: The front, inner side of the Sunŭibi stele. It shows a praise poem by Yusu Cho Chingwan dated to 1797



Figure 134: The back side of the Sunŭibi stele, 1797



Figure 135: The KimKyŏngjoKisilbi by Yusu Lee Yongsu that was inscribed by the calligrapher Sinwi in 1824.

The pavilion's eastern stele is called KimKyŏngjoKisilbi 金慶祚紀實碑 (Figure 135). It shows a praise poem by Yusu Lee Yongsu 李龍秀 that was inscribed by the calligrapher Sinwi (申緯 1769-1847). Its inscription on the back side dates it to 1824. The front three-liner reads:

高麗侍中圃隱鄭-先生錄事珍島金-公慶祚紀實碑

Master Chŏng P'ŏn, teacher of the central Koryŏ court, and lord *noksa* Kim Kyŏngjo from the Chindo clan (upright death) remembrance stele

Further east stands a second memorial pavilion, the Yuhŏ-pigak, holding the Sŏng-Yŏwan-Yuhŏbi, a stele in memory of Sŏng Yŏwan (Figure 137: *Sŏngyŏwan Yuhŏ-pi stele from Sŏng Yŏwan is dated to 1596 (picture courtesy of cornerstone 2007)*). Although it is not directly referring to Chŏng Mongju and his murder on Sŏnjukkyo, it is related to him and the theme of an official's loyalty towards his monarch. Yuhŏbi 遺墟碑 roughly translates as 'a stele in commemoration at the location of an honourable but sad event'. It is said to be installed at the location of where the house of Chŏng's friend Sŏng Yŏwan was situated. With the end of the Koryŏ period the scholar official Sŏng Yŏwan (成汝完 1309-1397) retired from government and although he was offered a court position under the new Chosŏn dynasty, he declined out of loyalty to the old dynasty.

The back inscription was added in 1710 by the grandson of Yusu Sŏng Suik, Yusu Kwŏn Sangyu 權尙游, who installed the stele again after it was broken, moved and newly put in place

on several occasions. It informs that the stele was first installed and (its front)²⁹⁰ inscribed by Sŏng Yŏwan's seventh generation descendant Yusu Sŏng Suik in 1596.²⁹¹



Figure 136: Yuhŏ-pi pavilion is said to be the location of where the house of Chŏng's friend Sŏng Yŏwan was situated



Figure 137: Sŏngyŏwan Yuhŏ-pi stele from Sŏng Yŏwan is dated to 1596 (picture courtesy of cornerstone 2007)

Remarkably, all these appraising memorial stelae were installed by scholars in their function as Kaesŏng *yusu*. I believe it is no coincidence that the theme of the ideal loyal scholar official was chosen. If by reference to family ties as in the Sŏngyŏwan Yuhŏ-pi stele or by appraisal of Chŏng Mongju, generations of future scholar officials with office in Kaesŏng used the installation of memorial stele with reference to Chŏng as a token to mark their individual intention of good service and loyalty to their sovereign. Thus from the second half of Chosŏn it was the act of loyalty towards the monarch that was remembered and idealised by local officials and still not Chŏng Mongju's opposition to the Chosŏn dynasty.

²⁹⁰ 昌寧府院君文靖 / 公成汝完遺墟

²⁹¹ 萬曆丙申 七代孫 留守壽益 立此碑 中經傷折 庚寅 外裔 留守權尙游 改立

P'yoch'ungbi

Particularly since the eighteenth century did the veneration of Chǒng gain prominence with Chosŏn royal appraisal and official back up of the loyalist narrative.

On the western side of the Sŏnjukkyo bridge is a big stele pavilion that hosts two monument stelae based on stone turtles. They were installed to the memory of loyal subject Chǒng Mongju by the Chosŏn kings Yǒngjo and Kjong, the so-called P'yoch'ungbi (褒忠碑). The name of the ensemble is put together by the two words compounds praise, *p'yoch'ang* 褒창, and loyalty, *ch'ungŭi* 忠의, (of Chǒng Mongju). The P'yoch'ungbi is designated national treasure relic no. 138 (NRICH 2006, 189) (Figure 138).

How come Chǒng Mongju became the subject of appraisal not only of singular scholars and local *yusu* mayors, but also of the later Chosŏn dynastic kings? Everyone who passes the way of Sŏnjukkyo is now remembered of his virtues of loyalty and patriotism that animated this heroic scholar. So how does it befit the official Chosŏn historiography, the Chosŏn founder said to be responsible for his murder? A North Korean textbook on cultural heritage asks a similar question. It ascertains that regardless of Chǒng's opposition to the Chosŏn Yi dynasty, Chosŏn kings went as far as praising and even building him a monument. It continues to explain that this propagation was politically motivated to protect their rule in a time of waning support for the royal house and opposing factions. Praising Chǒng Mongju, they hoped, the Chosŏn elite and common subjects would emulate his great deed of loyalty towards his monarch (Academy of Social Science 1991, 222).

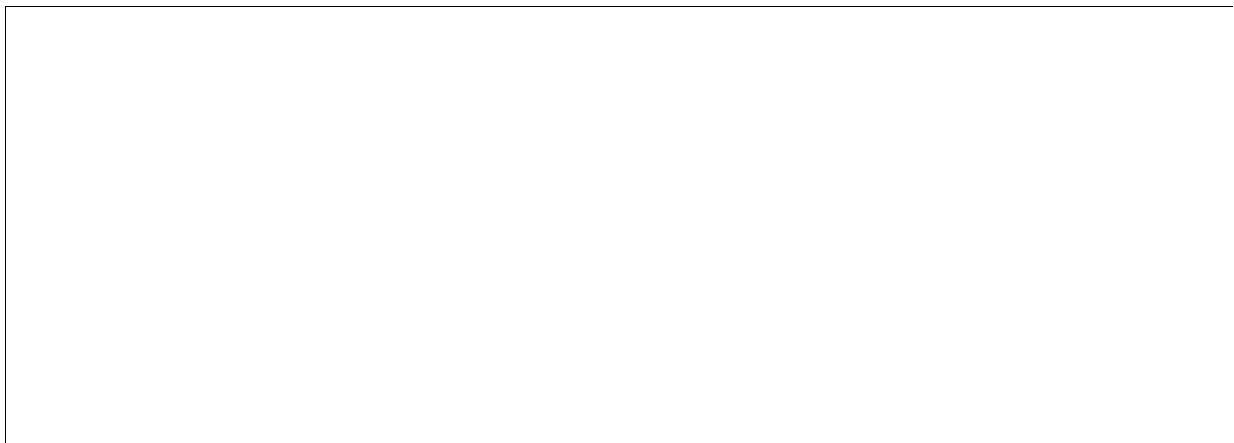


Figure 138: The P'yoch'ungbi pavilion, ca. 1920 (NRICH)

In fact, before embarking on his journey to Kaesŏng, King Yŏngjo (英祖 r. 1724–76) closely studied his father King Sukjong's itinerary to Kaesŏng from 1693 and followed his schedule and even the rhyme character of the poems composed during the visit. Kim Munsik argues that this was done, because Yŏngjo wanted to show his succession and continuation of his father's work. But in 1740 Yŏngjo is the first king to visit the Sŏnjukkyo bridge and the Puyohyŏn village where descendants of Koryŏ loyalists lived (Kim Munsik 2010). The initial royal interest in the visible veneration of the local worthy and Koryŏ loyalist was most probably provoked by a mixture of factional strives, for a great part based on the conflicting views over the deposition of the queen and naming the consort Chang as the new queen in 1689, and regional uprisings culminating particularly in the Musillan uprising of 1728. In order to stabilise regional areas and discourage imitators, the government implemented a policy of localised reforms (Jackson 2008). One very effective way to win the sides of the regional subjects is explained in a related anecdote by Pak Chiwŏn in his Yŏnamjip Essay collection (Vol 2, section 參奉王君墓碣銘, a252_056b).²⁹² Herein he paraphrases the positive political effect to engage the people, in this case minority groups, and boost the pride in their (family) past. Accordingly the Wang family clan, descendants of Koryŏ royal blood line, was involved in the construction of the P'yoch'ungbi pavilion. People's emotional attachment to and identification with their family are tried to be channelled towards a positive perception of a leader; a leader caring to care about their family and emotions, a tactic as later similarly employed by Kim Il Sung as discussed in section III.II.

²⁹² A Korean translation of the hanmun text of the Silhak New-learning scholar Pak Chiwŏn (朴趾源 1737-1805) was accessed on <http://db.itkc.or.kr>.

The annals of King Yǒngjo document how the king when passing by Sǒnjukkyo, suddenly stopped, notably on his way to Mokch'ongjŏn hall to hold ancestral rituals for the Chosŏn founder Yi Sŏnggye. Praising Chǒng Mongju's loyalty Yǒngjo wrote a poem with fourteen characters and was unexpectedly touched. He handed the poem over to the Kaesŏng *yusu* to inscribe a stele with it and install it next to the bridge (*Yǒngjo Sillok*, 38:20a, 21b). The same day he also went to the Sŏnggyun'gwan Confucian academy to pay his respect at Chǒng's ancestral shrine. In winter the inscription of the king's poem along two lines was accomplished and the memorial stele installed:

‘道德精忠亘萬古--泰山高節圃隱公’, (도덕정충금만고 태산고절포은공)

‘Morality and loyalty stretch out in eternity, P'ŏn's integrity is high like the sun'.²⁹³

The inscription continues with the date of inscription (1740 ‘英祖御製御筆’) and the other side of the stele reads: 御製 御筆 善竹橋 詩碑 (*ŏje ŏp'il Sǒnjukkyo sibi*, King's personal writing Sǒnjukkyo memorial stele).²⁹⁴ The section ‘Sǒnjukkyo poem’ in the record Imhap'ilgi (林下筆記, Chapter Munhŏnchijangp'yŏn 文獻指掌編) provides more detail about the circumstances of the stele's installation. This version of the story tells how Yǒngjo stopped his carriage at Sǒnjukkyo to show his respect of the virtuous event. He dismounted with a tablet and a seal and instructed to install a memorial stele and pavilion. Further he ordered the official calligrapher and poet Owŏn²⁹⁵ to compose the poem (음기 陰記) and the military official Ch'oe Ch'ŏnjak, who was a sculptor, to inscribe it.

²⁹³ Literally, ‘high like T'aesan’. T'aesan or Mount Tai is the most revered mountain of China situated in Shandong Province and closely associated with Confucian values. It is a recurrent expression to show the superiority of somebody's lofty achievements as introduced by Mencius, who wrote about Confucius climbing Mt. Tai expressing that Confucius made the whole world shrink. According to an ancient quotation from Sima Qian, ‘Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.’ Mao Zedong referred to this passage in the 20th century: ‘To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather’.

²⁹⁴ Five years later, the *Yǒngjo Sillok* (46:41a) records a ritual offering from the king to Chǒng Mongju on July 12, 1745.

²⁹⁵ Owŏn (吳琰 1700-1740) was suspended from office, because he opposed Yǒngjo's T'angp'yŏngch'aek policy that had promoted fit persons from each faction to a higher position in order to fight the side effects of their party strife.



Figure 139: Touching the nose of the P'yoch'ungbi turtle is said to grant the wish for a male child. Men have to queue for the Kojong stele turtle, women for the Yŏngjo one.



The Kojong Annals from 6 March 1872 (*Kojong Sillok* 9: 9a) record how on his return to the palace, king Kojong pays respect at the old site of Kyŏngdŏkgung Mokch'ŏng-chŏn and on his way there takes care of the writings on the stele inscribed by King Yŏngjo. To its right King Kojong had the P'yoch'ungbi stele installed in the same year. The base for the stele is set on a ten tons heavy turtle shaped granite block (Academy of Social Science 1991, 222). On the back of the stele is the personally composed and written inscription of the king in high praise of the loyalist Chŏng Mongju.

爲忠大節光宇宙. 吾道東方賴有公 (위충대절광우주 오도동방뢰유공)²⁹⁶

The pure loyalist's great principle illuminating the universe. Following the Confucian way becoming a reliant official.

Following the installation of the second memorial stele the protective pavilion with surrounding walls was built. In the Kojong Annals from 5 April 1874 (*Kojong Sillok* 11:36a) titled 'Advice in order to eliminate developing vice in heading government positions' the king says

The last time I travelled to Songdo visiting the Sŏnjukkkyo and taking care of the hall for the writings of king Yŏngjo, we took a copy of the royal writings. Since then, do you know if the construction of the *pigak*, memorial pavilion, has been finished? Yi Yuwŏn

²⁹⁶ Interestingly the newspaper article about Kaesŏng's historic remains in *Kukminbo* (1937.01.27) is mostly concerned about the title *kong*, lord, attributed to Chŏng in the royal inscriptions. It summarises s the royal writing of King Yŏngjo explaining that he called Chong a lord, due to his noble character high like the sun. The description of the King Kojong's inscription is continued explaining that Kojong titled Chong with lord, because he has enlightened Korea. (See also: *Koryo Sibo* 1938.1.16).

replied that he heard from the Kaesŏng special mayor (*yusu* 留守) that the report about the completed construction is supposed to arrive in a couple of days.’

And three days later the annals record that those officials up to the rank of *yusu*, who contributed to the construction of the *pigak* for the royal memorials at Kaesŏng-bu Sŏnjukkyo, were awarded a higher rank (*Kojong Sillok* 11:38a). The explicit royal patronage of the appraisal of Chŏng’s loyalty extended to further cultural actions. For example did in 1880 the court painter Yi Hanch’ŏl, pupil of the famous Kim Hongdo, copy the famous portrait of Chŏng Mongju as kept in his shrine in the Sungyangsŏwon (Figure 140).



Figure 140: Portrait paintings of the loyal scholar Chŏng Mongju. Left as published in 1936 in the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum booklet and in the local newspaper *Koryŏ Sibo* (1938.01.16). On the right is the copy done in 1880 by the court painter Yi Hanch’ŏl. It is preserved in Seoul in the National Museum of Korea, in which collection it has been since at least 1930 when it was reported in the Seoul Kyŏngbokkung Palace Museum (Hunt 1930, 18-19).

Also a *Taesoinwŏn'gae hamabi* 大小人員皆下馬 was installed in front of the P'yoch'ungbi, literally: 'Big, small people all demounting their horse stele' (Figure 141: The Taesoinwŏn'gae hamabi in between the Sŏnjukkyo and P'yoch'ungbi.). It is a stone stele indicating riders disregarding their status/rank to dismount from their horse in respect of an important site. As the North Korean historian Chu allegorises, although the Yi Chosŏn dynasty could not pardon Chŏng's opposition to Yi Sŏnggye, it also could not hide away and cover the 'pure loyalty in the inner darkness of history' (2006, 29).



Figure 141: The Taesoinwŏn'gae hamabi in between the Sŏnjukkyo and P'yoch'ungbi.

With the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty and during the Japanese colonization the focus of the narrative shifted from Chŏng the loyal servant of his king, to Chŏng as a loyalist who withstands the immoral temptations of new powers, expressed also in the frequently used term *chinch'ung poguk* 盡忠報國, loyalty and patriotic service to one's country. Adapted to the new need of the time, the frequently as antiquated and submissive criticized Confucian loyalty to his sovereign, gave room for national patriotic ideals and Chŏng's patriotic sacrifice and the blood spilled in fight for justice was emphasised. With the change of narrative, the concentration on the blood stain, and the blood sacrificed became a stronger emblem.

Quite befitting the circumstances of his life and activities, the poem 'Sŏnjukkyo' by the famous late Chosŏn period writer Yi Sŏl (李僖 1850-1911) emphasises the collective grief about the sacrificed blood, but also that there is no other way in the fight for the country's independence from foreign powers. Previously a symbolic expression for one's personal moral conduct, the cultivation of the self had turned into a sign of collective patriotic resistance.

善竹橋 ²⁹⁷	Sŏnjukkyo
善竹橋頭血	The head blood spilled at Sŏnjukkyo
人悲我不悲	Saddens all people, and how can I be not sad
孤臣亡國後	As for a forlorn subject having lost his country,
不死竟何爲	What other end is there than dying?

As a scholar official to the Chosŏn dynasty he lamented the murder of the last Korean Empress Myŏngsŏng (明成皇后, 1851-1895), the wife of Emperor Kjong, more commonly known as Queen Min 閔妃 by the Japanese on October 8, 1895. Consequently Yi Sŏl designated from his post, went to the countryside, and raised an army in the loyal cause of Japanese resistance.

²⁹⁷ North and South Korean renderings of the Chinese script poem are significantly different. Here the North Korean version: 선죽교에 흘린 피/사람들과 함께 나도 슬퍼하노라/그러나 신하된 몸 나라가 망하면/죽는 길밖에 또 무엇이 있으랴 versus a South Korean one 선죽교에 흘린 피 보는 사람은 - 너나없이 모두 다 슬퍼하누나. - 외로운 신하 나라 망한 후에야 - 죽지 않고 살아서 무얼 할 건가. Fighting till death and unbreakable will were popular topics that reached their height around the 1930s. Note the poem and song of the socialist Kwan Hwan '머리를 땅까지 숙일 때까지' 'Until we bend the head into the earth' (*Tonga Ilbo* 1930. 8) or the famous citation 'If we are willing to fight to death, we shall live, and if we are not, we will Perish' of admiral Yi Sunshin, declared national hero in the 1930s (see chapter II).

Ten years later following the Ŭlsa Treaty 乙巳條約 the Korean protests and resistance were intensified. Under Japanese pressure the Korean cabinet signed the agreement,²⁹⁸ on 17 November 1905 that gave Japan complete responsibility for Korea's foreign affairs, and placed all trade through Korean ports under Japanese supervision. Some Korean officials,²⁹⁹ including most notably Emperor Kojong did not sign the treaty.³⁰⁰ Other Koreans protested against the Treaty joining righteous armies and the two high officials of the Taehan (Great Korean) Empire Cho Pyŏngse (趙秉世, 1827-1905) and Min Yŏnghwan (閔泳煥 1861– 1905) committed suicide as an act of resistance against the Japanese control.



Figure 142: A photograph dated to 15 July 1906 picturing minister Min Yŏnghwan and the 'Blood Bamboo' that grew where exposed to his blood.

The latter features most prominently among the two, probably because according to legend, one year after Min's death, a bamboo appeared where his bloody clothes had been laid (Figure 142). Many people thought the bamboo grew nurtured by Min's blood so that the bamboo was called *Hyŏljuk* (血竹), or 'Blood Bamboo'. Remarkably the bamboo is also said to have had 45 leaves, Min's age at the time of his death.³⁰¹

The 'Blood Bamboo' was preserved and is now housed at the Korea University Museum commemorating Min Yŏnghwan's efforts for Korean independence in the waning days of the

²⁹⁸ The treaty received the signature of five Korean ministers, who have been reviled by later Korean historians as the *Five Ŭlsa Traitors*: Minister of Education Yi Wanyong (李完用), Minister of Army Yi Kŭntaek (李根澤), Minister of Interior Yi Chiyong (李址鎔), Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Chesun (朴齊純), Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry Kwon Chunghyŏn (權重顯). It laid the foundation for the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1907 in and subsequent annexation of Korea in 1910.

²⁹⁹ Prime Minister Han Kyusŏl (韓圭高), Minister of Justice Yi Hayŏng (李夏榮), Minister of Finance Min Yŏnggi (閔泳綺)

³⁰⁰ Emperor Kojong sent personal letters to major powers to appeal for their support against the illegal signing. Afterwards, in 1907, Kojong sent three secret emissaries to the second international Hague Peace Convention to protest the unfairness of the Ŭlsa Treaty. But the great powers of the world refused to allow Korea to take part in this conference.

³⁰¹ Emphasizing the validity of this story it is further told that the Japanese government investigated and mysteriously discovered that the story was not fabricated.

Chosŏn dynasty. The reference to the *Hyŏljuk* was taken up by consecutive articles in the daily paper *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* (1906.07.12+21, 1906.09.09 +26, 1906.10.04 and 1907.01.10). The connection between virtuous self-sacrifice in service of patriotic resistance shows very clearly and became also widely attributed to Chŏng's sacrificed blood, the mysterious growing of bamboo and patriotism. Connected to the Min suicide, the Chŏng Mongju narrative was also revived as a legitimising inheritance. The article 'The *Hyŏljuk*' remembers that 'The loyal subject master [Chŏng] P'oŭn was holding tight to upright integrity/ the raising bamboo at the stone bridge is called a great inheritance/ granting that bamboo grew in the middle of the room how can it be said to be unruly' (*Taehan Maeil Sinbo* 1906.07.21). Widely circulating newspaper publications and further poems mark the turn to a patriotic hero. So for instance does the article 'Past and present loyal spirits' in the newspaper *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* (1908.03.20) praise second of eleven Chŏng and his resistant blood at Sŏnjukkyo. Another one proclaims 'During 500 years of wind and rain, the blood stain (*hyŏlhŭn* 血痕) glows in the setting sun. At the Kaesŏng Sŏnjukkyo: where the Koryŏ loyalist Chŏng Mongju loyalty will be preserved for a million years' (*Tonga Ilbo* 1926.6.29).³⁰² Also the circumference of the bridge starts to be taken care of. In 1939 the 'new year plan of the Kaesŏng construction department wants to create a Sŏnjukkyo park and attempts to complete an education city with a main road' (*Tonga Ilbo* 1939.1.11).

At the same time the Japanese scholar Imanishi Ryū³⁰³ undermines in his 'Compilation of Chosŏn History' (Imanishi Ryū 1935, 188) Chŏng Mongju's status as the celebrated Koryŏ dynasty loyalist. He argued that Yi Sŏnggye and Chŏng Mongju were cruel Koryŏ traitors, who both believed that King U was not a legitimate child of Kongmin, but the result of an indecent affair between the monk Sindon and a royal concubine. He argued that they thus murdered the two kings U 禔 and Chang 昌 (Lee Usŏng 1995, 25-26). Although Ko Yusŏp actively agreed with this argumentation (1939.8), it did not arouse much discussion in academia at a time and was

³⁰² The blood symbolism was continuously taken up, for instance did the term blood stain (*hyŏlhŭn*) appear already earlier in newspaper articles (*Tonga Ilbo* 1925.12.1+3) by Lee Ŭnsang (李殷相 1903-1982) and later became the title of one novel compilation (1926) of the writer Ch'oe Sŏhae (崔曙海 1901-32). The patriotic symbolism was still reminiscent in an article from 1946 (Vol 2, 2) called the 'Nation's blood stain' published in the journal *Kŏnsŏl*.

³⁰³ Imanishi Ryū (今西 龍 1875-1932) first came to Korea in 1906 when he excavated in the city of Kyŏngju. He was a member of the Korean History Compilation Committee 朝鮮史編修會 founded in 1925. Afterwards Koreans have opposed the official Japanese historiography of Korea's past, as it shortened the historical time span conjuring the period Ko-Chosŏn as myth and reducing it to the present territorial boundaries.

by no means detrimental to Chŏng's popularity. Quite on the contrary, most Koreans then and now would dismiss the negative interpretation as a temporary justification for the Japanese colonial view of history giving added reason to celebrate the site.³⁰⁴

Today the probably best known advocate for Korean independence and critic of the murderer of Empress Myŏngsŏng is Kim Ku, Paekbŏm. After Korean liberation, he was pictured at Sŏnjukkyo in 1947 on an inspection tour to Pyongyang for a meeting in favour of Korean Unification (Figure 143). At the same time, celebrating the anniversary of the 3.1 Independence Movement from 1919, the daily *Nongmin Chubo* (Farmers Weekly) prominently placed a poem by Chŏng P'oŭn in the page centre (1947.03.08). By then Chŏng and his poem that states that he rather be dead than disloyal, have become emblematic for self-sacrifice in the struggle for independence.



Figure 143: Kim Ku at Sŏnjukkyo in 1947; left to right: An Naksae, Ŏm Hangeŏp, Kim Ku, Yi Kilho, ?, Sŏn Ujin, Kim Sŏnlyang, ?, Min Wansik;

Therefore it comes as no surprise that Kim Il Sung, too, tells the story of the loyalist scholar Chŏng Mongju during his visit of the Sŏnjukkyo bridge in May 1992. There, he reminisced deeply touched that a passage of an Independence Army song was referring to Sŏnjukkyo as 'blood-bridge', *p'itari* (Chu Sŏng-ch'ŏl 2006, 28-29). Although I was not able to verify his claim, there is a poem of the same title that content might be illustrative of possible lyrics to the song. It was written by the Kaesŏng born poetess Chang Chŏng-sim (張貞心 1903-47), published in the chapter 'Hometown' (*kohyang* 고향) of her book *Kŭmsŏn* (琴線 1934).³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Only later, after the Korean Professor Mun Mo (文某 in *Taefu Sahag* 大丘史學, XV-XVI joint volume (Dec.1978) takes up on this theory describing Chŏng Mongju as a 'Koryŏ traitor and a Yi Chosŏn loyalist' in 1978 did this defaming view cause harsh criticism. So for instance did Lee Chaeho deem Professor Mun's article in no way as a pure and scholarly work. 'His argument is no more than an approach accorded with the interpretation of the Japanese colonial view of history. Accordingly, his erroneous theory has to be rectified radically'. (Lee Chaeho 1983. 鄭圃隱「非忠臣論」에 對한 檢討 특히 傳統的 論理觀의 否定에 對하여 (A Criticism on the Nonloyalist Theory of Chŏng P'oŭn (鄭圃隱)- Especially on the Negation of the Traditional View of Ethics), 釜大史學, 7: 47-95). Also the former Kaesŏng local Rhee Sang-eun did not want to have heard of or accept a possible critique of the Chŏng narrative (email response from 28 June 2010).

³⁰⁵ Also a song from 1949 called 'Sŏnjukkyo' by the popular singer Lee Inkwŏn (李寅權 1919- 1973) pays tribute to the unforgettable sacrifice of Chŏng Mongju (lyrics by Yu Ho, composed by Kim Haesong). It was released by Lucky and in 1953 was part of an album compilation by Orient Record. To listen to the song follow

Blood Bridge

Bridge, bridge, blood bridge, even if the blood was wiped off the blood did not disappear for 500 years and will lead the way for another 5000 years;

Blood, blood, red blood, the blood that is spilled for justice;

The spilled blood of one person is the reason of many thousand people's tears;

I am longing for Sŏnjukkyo blood bridge

And longing for the (water) sound at dawn,

And longing for Songgyŏng [Kaesŏng]'s bird songs,

But most I am longing for news from the family.

In North Korea the word 'blood' also stands symbolic for revolution,³⁰⁶ and the sacrificial death people have to die for when fighting for justice and their beliefs. The site is thus valued for this historical example of patriotic sacrifice, shifting away from the narrative of the upright Confucian scholar Chŏng. Thus the site is also suitable for the DPRK ideology and both Kims instructed to keep the bridge area tidy and to be a cultural leisure place for the workers (Ri Ch'ŏl 2005, 167).

During the 2008 tourist tours to Kaesŏng one middle aged tourist reports on his blog how he asked if the red stain on the bridge could not have been caused by an oxidation of the stone's iron content. According to him his question was negated by the North Korean guide, and ascertained to be a stain from Chŏng's blood. Interestingly on my visit the legend was told too, but with a smile as if knowing to tell a tale. Although the North Korean descriptions of cultural heritage use more legendary elements in the cultural narrative, I always found them to be marked as such (with the exception of the contemporary myth-like historiography). South Korean tourists quickly misunderstand these legends as being taken as true facts by North Koreans and a sign of their backwardness or indoctrination.

Yet quite on the contrary, the explanation given by Kim Il Sung during his visit in December 1954 directly takes up the issue of the myth around the blood stain. He says that the stories

the link:

<http://bigmail.nate.com/download/sid=18&info=12d86a24316e07dc7f50c3c4291b55e69f8dca0edcf6699b4c87f6b7ed8e2671acca611b16f8d6cb1e69e1e9b1e60e26dc1b5448727f01df30a3a5>

³⁰⁶ See also the use of 'blood' in such words as *sea of blood*, *p'ipada*, for the mass game performances etc.

about the bamboo as well as the alleged irremovable bloodstain were invented to demonstrate and praise the loyalty of Chǒng Mongju. Investigating the red mark on the bridge he asked ‘Is this the spot where the blood of Chǒng Mongju still remains?’ One man answered to confirm that the story is handed down like this. Whereupon Kim exclaims with a big smile on his face that ‘It is a lie that the blood of Chǒng Mongju, who was assassinated on the Sŏnjukkyo because of Yi Sŏnggye, still remains! What blood would that be? The red colour is probably part of the stone.’ (Academy of Social Science 1991, 223) Kim Jong Il similarly explained (1968. 08.22) that although the story of the red spot had been passed down as being the blood of Chǒng Mongju, it is just a legend without any scientific foundation (Kim Jong Il 2006, 63).

Even in professional and scholarly descriptions legends are often incorporated, probably and rightly giving due relevance to connected oral traditions. When Kim Jong Il visited Kaesŏng in 1968 he made a point to keep traditional legends and stories alive for the pleasure of the people and evaluation of the site and that they should not be misunderstood as restorationism (Kim Jong Il, 1968.08.22, in Kim Jong Il 2006, 65). More to the point, in an earlier speech Kim Jong Il (1964.09.16) states:

Historical stories and legends are important national cultural heritage and need to be collected. These then should be well organised and published in a book to address the workers’ national sentiment. Further these stories convey our country’s history and culture practical knowledge effectively. Stories and legends should not only be gathered in books, but big themes also be utilised for movie or theatre productions.’ (Kim Jong Il 2006, 53).

Legends have thus become complimentary parts of the official narrative if their taught values could be appropriated to strengthen national sentiments, like the legend of Chǒng Mongju that serves the promotion of ‘loyalty for the country and its leader’ (cp. Chapters III.II.i and V.IV.iii). Despite the North Korean principal rejection of the Confucian doctrine criticised mainly for ‘flunkeyism’ towards China and its ‘feudal’ system, it still heavily relies on and actively employs such acclaimed virtues derived from Confucianism. Particular in times of political crisis, as during the 1992 visit, sacrificial loyalty to country and leadership became once more an effectively promoted virtue of the day.

Through its strong symbolism the Sŏnjukkyo became a prominent landmark associated to the city of Kaesŏng. For South Korean visitors who first come to see the bridge previously only

known through its legendary narratives, the actual small size and simple style comes as a somewhat disappointing surprise. The historian Hong Yŏngŭi (2006, 195), for instance, remembers his first real-life encounter not feeling greatly sentimental as the cult-like sentiments connoted to the bridge were disturbed questioning himself how Chŏng could have possibly crossed this tiny bridge riding a horse. Yet for those who have known it before, particularly former Kaesŏng residents, the bridge's symbolism has left an emotional impression in their mind. Personal memories of an old home town inevitably include this little stone bridge. Revisiting his birth town Kaesŏng after 56 years the elderly Pak Sŏngho (67 years old) said:

My heart is full (of past memories). After I graduated from the Wŏnjŏng state school and went south, I could not get back and would not have thought to revisit before dying. To once see again the school he attended opposite the Sŏnjukkyo and the P'yoch'ungbigak, was a big wish come true.



Figure 144: A sentimental memory at Sŏnjukkyo

There was also the elderly Mr Yun Chŏngtŏk, who showed a picture he took on 1 March 1950 with friends, befittingly in celebration of the anniversary of the Independence movement, in front of Sŏnjukkyo (Figure 144). This elderly, too, said to be unspeakably happy and expressed his wish to come again to this place with his friends to take another picture. Another one adds at the Sŏnjukkyo site that 'It is great that we all can happily have a memorable visit of the sites of ancient history' (Chang Yunssŏn 2005).

At times of social division and political conflict it is made hard to represent the nation as a homogenous unity (Shnirelman 2003, 47). By contrast the people and sites of the past are easier to represent as a symbolic cohesive cultural body with a common will and to be turned in cultural heroes of the present. Confucian moral ideals were cemented in the physical marker of the bridge, traditional motifs of the bamboo in the legends around that marker as well as the adaptation of these ideals of 'undivided loyalty' through the transmission of literary traditions. The unequivocal response by Chŏng Mongju's to the proposed alliance by Yi Pangwŏn (later third Chosŏn king T'aejong r. 1400-1418) as memorised in school in North and South Korea alike, has been a guiding example for many generations, albeit its interpretation rooted in the respective political events of the day.

Though my body die and die again,
Though it die a hundred deaths,
My skeleton turn to dust, my soul exist or not,
Could the heart change
That is red-blooded in undivided loyalty to its lord?
(English Translation by O'Rourke 2002, 32)

V.III LEAVING MARKS AT LANDMARKS

V.III.1 MYTHS OF DRAGONS AND POETRY AT PAKYŎN P'OKP'O WATERFALL

Founded in traditional thought and religion (e.g. Shamanism, Taoism, and Geomancy), the powerful bond between the 'Korean earth' and the 'Korean people' is still a very dominant idea. During the last century, the intermingled associations of idle pass-time, traditional inspiration for scholarly outings where poems were exchanged and music listened to while enjoying a cup of wine, and of course the nationalistic pride in the beauty of one's country, have not altered.³⁰⁷ Yet, these scenic landmarks were not purely admired for their beauty, but served as a historic stage for the narrative of famous people's past action. One such landmark is the Yŏngt'ong district in the north eastern Kaesŏng area, outside T'anhyŏnmun Gate. This area is known for broad-flat white rocks that were also the motif of the famous painting *Yŏngt'ong Tonggu* by P'yoam Kang Sye-hwang in 1765 (Figure 145). There used to be the house of the leading neo-Confucian philosopher of the Chosŏn dynasty, Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk.³⁰⁸

Born into a poor Kaesŏng gentry's family Hwadam was largely self educated. Although he was repeatedly offered posts in government, he never accepted in protest against the corrupt ruling system (and following scholar purges), choosing instead to devote his life to the study and teaching of neo-Confucianism in the seclusion of the mountain range Hwadam. The landmark became even so closely associated with him and his work that he is best known by his honorific name Hwadam.



Figure 145: The painting: 'Yŏngt'ong Tonggu' by P'yoam Kang Sye-hwang in 1765

³⁰⁷ Nature as a source of national identification and pride is particularly true for Korea's famous mountainous areas like Mt Paektusan and Mt Kūmgangsan, and less the case for urban areas like Kaesŏng.

³⁰⁸ Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk (徐敬德, 1489-1546) ranks among the three foremost neo-Confucian thinkers in Chosŏn Korea, together with Yi Hwang Tŏgye, 1501-1570, and Yi I Yulgok, 1536-1584. Hwadam is credited with bringing the Korean assimilation of the complex neo-Confucian system of thought to complete maturity and with developing a characteristic Korean problematic. His most serious work was devoted to fundamental metaphysical questions and to the complex system of the *Book of Changes* (Kor., *Yŏkgyŏng*; Chin., *Yi jing*).

Another landmark in Kaesŏng has an even longer following of literary traditions and references. It is the Pakyŏn P'okp'o Waterfall situated a little north of the Yŏngt'ong district in between the mountains Ch'ŏnmasan and Sŏnggŏsan.

In our times the journey from Kaesŏng town to the Pakyŏn waterfall takes about twenty minutes by bus fields (Pak So-lan 2008). The drive north out of Kaesŏng passes ginseng whose exquisite quality Kaesŏng has been popular for since the late Chosŏn period. On a small parking lot the tourists get off the bus. A signboard indicates the major scenic spots and historic sites in the area of the Pakyŏn P'okp'o waterfall 朴淵瀑布 (Figure 146).



Figure 146: At the entrance parking lot a signboard indicates the major scenic spots and historic sites in the area of the Pakyŏn waterfall.

After a short walk on a path to the entrance of the Pakyŏn area, an inscribed rock, the *Hŏnsibi*, welcomes the visitor with the poem *This eternal love for the Pakyŏn Waterfall*³⁰⁹ dedicated to Kim Il Sung (Figure 147). His son Kim Jong Il on an earlier visit to Pakyŏn Waterfall in August 1968, further taught about the importance to take better care of the people's cultural recreational sites (Kim Jong Il 1968.08.22, in Kim Jong Il 2006, 64-5).



Figure 147: A South Korean tourist reads the revolutionary text of the *Hŏnsibi* at the entrance to the Pakyŏn Falls area.

³⁰⁹ [...] 어버이수령님의 크나큰 은정--- 강산에 굽이쳐 흘러 흐르는가--- 대흥산성 높은 벼령을 타고 내리는--- 인민의 명승 박연폭포--- 오랜 세월 착취자들의 유흥자로--- 빛을 잃었던 이곳이--- 오늘은 인민의 유원지로 꽃피나니--- 그 사랑을 노래하네 [...]

The Pakyŏn P'okp'o is designated a natural treasure (*ch'ŏnyŏn 'ginyŏmmul* 천연기념물 no 388). Its waterfall has a comparatively fast vertical fall of 37 metres down a steep valley into a pool that causes a foggy view through the water splatter. Depending on the season and waterfall levels though, the waterfall can be rather thin and the pool can be nearly dry. Above the waterfall there is a big hollowed rock (24m diameter) that forms a five meter deep gourd-shaped pond (8m wide) with a rock in its middle, called island-rock or *kudam*.



Figure 148: The Pakyŏn P'okp'o with the Komodam pond and the Yongbawui rock

There different well transmitted attempts to describe the origin of the waterfall's and the two ponds' name. One saying is that the name Pakyŏn derives from the shape of its top spring pool yŏn, a gourd, pak. Pak is the Korean word for gourd, and as poems of a time were written in Chinese, they refer to the Pakyŏn Fall with the Chinese equivalent for gourd, as P'yo-yŏn (瓢淵).³¹⁰

However the contemporary Chinese spelling of the homophone *pak* follows the legend of Pak Chinsa³¹¹ that is first recorded in the early thirteenth century by the prominent Koryŏ period philosopher Yi Kyubo (李奎報, 1168-1241)³¹² and also retold by Kim Il Sung on his site visit.

³¹⁰ *Sokdong Munsŏn* 21, 녹(錄), 유 송도록 (遊松都錄), 성호사설 제 30 권, 시문문(詩文門), 표연시(瓢淵詩);, 'Poem of P'yoyŏn' by Kim Sisŭp.

엎딘 용이 자다 깨어 노기를 못참으니 蟄龍睡起怒不禁
만 가마 밝은 구슬 푸른 벽에 쏟아지네 明珠萬斛瀉蒼壁

³¹¹ Yi Young-il 2002, 61-67. Ch'ae Su (1477) argues that the surname Pak was interwoven into the legend on purpose, due to its homophone to the Korean term for gourd (Yusongtorok, Sŏnghosasŏl, 30, Si'munmun).

³¹² Yi Kyubo, chapter 14 *Chepakyŏn* 題朴淵 of the *Tonggukisanggukjŏnchip* 東國李相國全集, see also Ko 1939.10, 'Pakyŏnsŏlhwa', *Munchang*. Ch'ae Su cites Yi Kyubo's poem in his travelogue compilation that is followed by one written by himself (속동문선 제 21 권, 녹(錄), 유 송도록(遊松都錄), 성호사설 제 30 권, 시문문(詩文門), 표연시(瓢淵詩)).

Yi Kyubo:	용녀가 피리에 반해 선생께 시집오니 백년을 함께 즐겨 성정에 맞았도다	龍嬈感笛嫁先生 百載同歡適性情
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Ch'ae Su:	거꾸로 공중에 걸린 것이 상쾌하구나 천하에 주류해도 이보다 기이한 게 없으리 뒤집힐듯 휘날려 용왕굴을 바로 쏘고 벽력 소리 부딪쳐 직녀피가 기울어라	倒掛空中方見快 周流天下更無奇 掀翻直射龍王窟 震薄疑傾織女陂
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In ancient times the gifted bamboo flute player Pak Chinsa was sitting on the island-rock of the upper pond. The melodic tune is said to have caused the dragon king's daughter appear among waves and seize him under the waters to become her groom. The crown of the falls so became known after Pak Chinsa, as Pak pond, *pakyŏn*. The continuation of the legend tells of Pak's wife (in North Korean sources the widowed mother, see Ri Wŏnhŭi 2002, 61-67; Kim Sŏngbok and Han Hyoryŏl 2004, 53), who comes to call and cry for him and then falls of the cliff into the pool below into death, the so called *Komodam* (姑母潭, literally 'anguished mother pond') (Ch'ae Su 1477, Yu Hoin 1477 in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 28, 49).³¹³

The tradition of literati scholars visiting the Pakyŏn Fall may have begun with Yi Kyubo. Only 26 years old he came to Mt. Ch'ŏnam-san producing his famous book *Tongmyŏngwangp'yŏn* 東明王篇 from when onwards the writing activity became popular here (Chu Sŏngch'ŏl 2007, 42). Thus men of literature were inspired to follow into the footsteps of preceding famed scholars.

In 1477 Ch'ae Su and Yu Hoin respectively refer to another legend that revolves around the Pakyŏn Falls. It narrates that when the Koryŏ king Munjong (文宗 r. 1046-83)³¹⁴ climbed on top of the upper Pakyŏn pond island-stone it was shaken heavily by the dragon. The accompanying scholar official Lee Yŏngkan 李靈幹 wrote a 'magical formula' (*ch'ukbŏp* 祝法) and then was whipping the dragon so hard that the pond turned red all over (2008, 28+ 50).³¹⁵ It cannot be ascertained if the legend was lively and actively remembered or if these scholars just recall this abbreviated version of the story as it was recorded in the *Koryŏsa*, only completed shortly before in 1451.³¹⁶ Kim Yuk in 1607 only mentions that it is said to be a place where the

³¹³ Perhaps not without reason Kim Il Sung had a rock on top of Pakyŏn inscribed with a poem called *Chosŏn's Mother*, in the memory of his own mother Kang Pansŏk (1892-1932), who is venerated as the mother of the nation. Meyers already noted that in North Korean propaganda and ideology the mother has a strong symbolism. However, the mother variant also sounds like the more logical interpretation choice as the literal translation of the pond's name *komodam* is 'anguished mother pond', and already used by Ch'ae Su's account in combination with the story line of the 'wife' variant.

³¹⁴ During his reign, the central government of Koryŏ gained complete authority and power over local lords. Munjong and later emperors emphasised the importance of civilian leadership over the military. Munjong expanded Korea's borders northward to the Yalu and Tumen rivers.

³¹⁵ The story is also briefly summarised in IPA 2004, 298.

³¹⁶ 'Ubong-gun [...] has Nine Dragon Mountain (where the shrine for national ancestor Holybone General is; because of this it is alternatively called Holy Dwelling Mountain) and the Pakyŏn Falls (... if a rain-praying ceremony is held here during a drought, rain will fall. In the middle of the pond above there is a rock that can be climbed and that offers a grand view. Once when Munjong climbed this rock suddenly the wind started to blow,

dragon was beaten (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 140). Kim Ch'anhyŏp in 1671 just coolly states that he cannot believe the story of King Munjong who is supposed to have climbed the rock and beaten the dragon (Kim in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 164). Once again legends related to rulers prove very important as an expression for their legitimization and also because their link to a visual and frequently visited site in connection to a narrative become and stay an easily remembered symbolic marker.

Korean guide books and other information on the waterfall celebrate the Pakyŏn P'okp'o as one of the three most famous waterfalls in Korea. This same statement was also given by Kim Jong Il (1968.08.22) that often serves as headline in reports on the waterfall (see for instance, as cited in Chu Sŏng-ch'ŏl 2007, 41). Along the other two, are the Kulyung Fall in Mt. Kumgang-san and Taesŭng Fall in Mt Sorak-san), it is said to be the beautiful one. From olden times the first was considered holy and so called Sŏngp'ok (derived from *sŏng* 聖), the second one mystical (*sinbi* 神秘) and so called Sinp'ok and lastly Pakyŏn was considered the dwelling place of godly beings (*sinsŏn* 神仙) and so also referred to by its second name, mainly used in the late Chosŏn period, Sŏn-P'okp'o (Chu Sŏng-ch'ŏl 2007, 41). A Japanese guide book from the early twentieth century records yet another nickname in use for the Pakyŏn Fall, Sansŏng 山城 Fall, that alludes to its location between a mountain and the fortress wall Taehŭngsan-sŏng.³¹⁷

Again part of one of the three greatest sites, the Pakyŏn P'okp'o is listed in a well-known term. The *Chunggyŏngji* mentions the term *Songdo3chŏl* 松都三絶 (Chu Sŏngch'ŏl 2007, 41 and Ch'oe Hyŏn-a 2008: 38-39) that describes the three treasures of Kaesŏng, which are the ethics by Kaesŏng's famous neo-Confucian scholar Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk, the famed Pakyŏn Fall and the beauty of Kaesŏng *kisaeng* (Jap. geisha) of the early Chosŏn period, Hwang Chini (Song Kyŏng-rok 2000, 223). The *Songdo3chŏl* became popular among Neo-Confucians in mid-Chosŏn, also mentioned in the collection of world poems *Kiilwŏnlon* 氣一元論, describing the Confucian scholar Hwadam Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk, Hwang Chini, and the numerous poems

rain poured down and the rock shook. Munjong was startled and afraid. At that moment, Yi Yonggan who was attending to the king, wrote down the transgression of the dragon on a piece of paper that he threw into the pond. The dragon immediately showed his back above the water and Yi directly started to pummel it with a stick. The water turned completely red." (*Koryŏsa* 56: 5a-b., translated in Breuker 2006, 100.)

³¹⁷ The railway Bureau of the Japanese General Government 朝鮮總督府 鐵道局 published this *Korean travel guide* (*Chosŏn yŏhaeng annaegi* 朝鮮旅行案内記) in 1934. It is structured along the train stations of the major railway connections throughout the Korean peninsula. The Kaesŏng related entry is on the pages 60-69.

engraved in rock along the Pakyŏn Waterfalls. The poem on the above mentioned entrance rock *Hŏnsibi* also refers to the love towards these three protagonists, the Pakyŏn P'okp'o, Hwang Chini and Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk. There are virtually no historical records confirming the existence of a sixteenth-century kisaeng named Hwang Chini, or Myŏngwŏl, her kisaeng name (literally bright moon).



Figure 149: A snapshot of the website of the Korean TV drama *Hwang Chini* with her alleged poem about Pakyŏn P'okp'o and interestingly a North Korean transliteration from Hanja to Hangŭl (© KBS November 2006)³¹⁸

And yet from the slenderest historical fabric a myth has been woven that provides a general consensus about her dates of birth and death (1522-1565) and even locates a tomb ground in Kaesŏng. The colourful story about Hwang Chini has engaged several of modern Korea's most accomplished fiction writers.³¹⁹ After some early cinematic productions, the subject of Hwang Chini has been screened in a modern Korean TV drama production in 2006 (on the broadcasting channel KBS2, 11 October 2006 to 28 December 2006).

According to one of the myths evolving around Hwang Chini, she inscribed two lines from a famous poem by the Tang Chinese Li Bai (李白 701-762) titled 'Lushan Waterfall 瀟山瀑布' on the Yongbawi, dragon rock, situated inside the Pakyŏn waterfall pool, the *Komodam* (Ri Kiung 1997).

³¹⁸ <http://www.kbs.co.kr/drama/hwangjiny/plus/poetry/index.html> (retrieved 8 May 2009)

³¹⁹ There are many literary and cinematic adaptations of the Hwang Chini story. The first novel titled *Hwang Chini* was written by Yi T'aejun (李泰俊 1904-?; cp, chapter II.III.vi, n 63). During his studies at Tokyo Sophia University, Yi became part of the proletarian literature 'Group of Nine' 九人會. Among his many articles he published his famous novel *Hwang Chini* in the newspaper *Chosŏn Chungang Ilbo* from 2 June- 4 September 1936 (published in book form in 1938 and 1946). Up to present a good ten novels of the same subject followed. After his retreat to North Korea in 1946 he became president of the literary committee and was an active novelist until 1956, when his voice probably was silenced in accordance to the aimed political party line. The much later three part novel *Hwang Chin-I* by Hong Sŏk-chung's is particularly notable as the North Korean author (and the grandson of Hong Myŏng-hŭi, one of the finest modern Korean authors) was honoured with the Manhae Literature Prize for his novel in 2004, two years after it was first published in North Korea. This marked the first time that a North Korean literary work had been recognized with a major South Korean literary award (Bruce Fulton 2008. *Hwang-Chin-I: Introduction*, *Azalea*, 2, 153); For a great description of Hwang Chini and the summary of the most relevant historical sources about her, see Kevin O'Rourke 2004, 96-121.

Also the stone signpost of Yongbawi refers to these two lines of the poem in Korean transcription, *hangŭl*, of the Chinese, *hanja*, 飛流直下三千尺, 疑是銀河落九天 and a brief explanation of its meaning. It reads, in red the name of Kim and his personal citation:



Figure 150: Stone marker designating the Pakyŏn P'okp'o Yongbawi as national natural memorial no 542

Yongbawi

The Great Leader **Kim Il Sung** personally visited the Pakyŏn P'okp'o on 26 August *chuch'e* 46 (1957) and 5 May *chuch'e* 81 (1992) and came on top of this Yongbawi where he also took a memorial photograph and told the following:

<The poem engraved on the Yongbawi '비류직하삼천척 의시은하낙구천' conveys the meaning of 'the 3000-foot-long fall is straight to fly, Is the Milky Way falling from the sky?' The people of old times liked the beauty of Pakyŏn, so that they inscribed this verse on the rock.>

The Yongbawi is 4 m high, 8.4 m long and 5.5 m wide. The Great Leader and Dear General said that this Yongbawi is a [...] historical object that has to be kept well preserved in its original state.

People committee of Kaesŏng city



Figure 151: Kim Il Sung studying the calligraphy on top of the Yongbawi rock on 5 May 1992 next to the honoured archaeologist Ch'ae Hŭiguk, published in the *Chungang Sinmun* 8 May 1992



Figure 152: Tourists following the footsteps of Kim Il Sung in the discovery of literary myths

The comparatively detailed essay by Kim Siho (2002, 9) mentions that on 8 May 1992, the North Korean newspaper *Chungang Sinmun* published several photographs of Kim Il Sung's visit to Kaesŏng on 5 May. Kim Siho (2002) writes that among them, particularly the picture depicting Kim Il Sung with a pointer listening to an elderly scholar, the late archaeologist Ch'ae Hŭiguk (1918-1996) explaining something respectfully, caused great attention from the readership (Figure 151). The background story to this particular photograph features Ch'ae Hŭiguk and his manifold decorations received by Kim Il Sung.³²⁰ One of these described honouring takes form in the call of Kim Il Sung to take a souvenir picture together. For Prof. Ch'ae 'it seemed like a dream' and this unforeseen kindness had his 'heart swell and moved to tears' (Kim Siho 2002, 9-10). As in the other examples of individual honouring, it is always redirected to an appraisal of the Dear Leader. 'It is the loving attentiveness on the part of the world's busiest man that moves the characters to tears, and is meant to make the reader cry too' (Myers 2010, 105).

Hwang Chini is said to have used her own hair to write the calligraphy with ink on the rock that afterwards was carved into the stone.³²¹ This explanation was also given by Kim Il Sung on this visit to the waterfall in May 1992 and repeated by the local guide on the recent tourist tours (Figure 152). Following the literary reference of the poem, Chosŏn period visitors often describe the falls as a flooding pool that falls from a cliff as if the Milky Way was standing upside down. The fall resembles a marble stone and its water drops gush out and flutter like flurry of snow (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 27).

The poem is not the only inscription on the rock, but many little poems and names are inscribed, too. Yu Hoin mentions in 1477 the practice that many people leave their name on the rock, just as he did himself on a previous visit in 1465. Surprised he notes that his twelve years earlier inscription has not disappeared (in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 50). Old pictures from the turn of the

³²⁰ For a biographic note on Ch'ae Hŭiguk refer to footnote 151.

³²¹ About the literary myth Hwang Chini in North and South Korea, see: Simon Kim 2008. Northern and Southern Interpretations of the myth of Hwang Chini, in *Proceedings of the 4th World Congress of Korean Studies*, Seoul 21-24.09.2008, 1501-1508.

twentieth century³²² are the first visually documented proof of these inscriptions of visitors' names.

On the contemporary photograph many inscriptions can be seen on the cliff directly behind and next to the falls (Figure 153). One could easily talk about a tradition of inscribing rocks at Korean scenic spots. Particularly monks used to inscribe some slogans or thought provoking words in rocks. Particularly all along the valley between the mountain ranges of Ch'ŏnmasan and Sŏngkŏsan there are the sites of Koryŏ period temples and grottos (Wŏnt'ongsa, Sihyŏlsa, Sŏnam, Chŏkchoam, Haeinam, Ch'wiunam etc), the circumferences of which many different types of Chinese inscriptions can be made out on the nearby rocks (Chu 2007, 42).³²³



Figure 153: Photograph of the Pakyŏn Falls and name incisions in the rock as published in 1926 (reprinted in KGCCJC 1999, 104)



Figure 154: The 18th century rendering of the Pakyŏn P'okp'o by Kyŏmjae Chŏng Sŏn

³²² See for instance the photographs published in the Kaesŏng local newspaper *Koryŏ Sibŏ*. One subtitled 'The scenery that comes to mind in summer' on 16 July 1933; another showing five gentlemen in front of the fall 'In the beginning of fall at Pakyŏn', 16 September 1935.

³²³ See also Yi Kiung's (1997, 40) last section 'about inscribed words on rocks' of the paper 'Pakyŏnsŏnggŏsan mae3bulsan-ye taehayŏ' in *Chosŏn Kogo Yŏngu* 1997(3), 38-40. Further the early Chosŏn period travelogues mention two stone Buddha statues in a rock grottos flanking the upper Pakyŏn Fall. Ch'ae describes in detail that the one in the east is called Taltalbakkak and the one in the west Nohilbudŭk. (Interestingly, the names of the two Buddha sculptures allude to a story recorded in the *Samgukyusa*, where the two Silla period monks in Mt. Paekwŏl-san attained Buddhahood after being tested by the lures of a beautiful woman in need of help, an incarnation of Buddha (Ilyeon transl. by Kim 2006, 242-248). The record *Yuch'ŏnmarok* 遊天磨錄 describes how in 1565 a Kaesŏng Confucian student hit and demolished the Taltalbakkak Buddha and only the Nohilbudŭk remains (Ko 1939.10).



Figure 155: A painting of the Pakyŏn Fall that copies the particular expressive ductus of Kyŏmjae Chŏng Sŏn

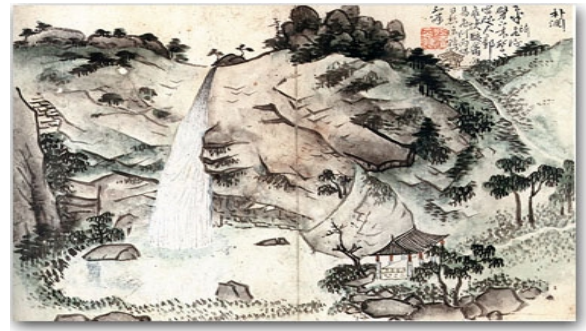


Figure 156: Pakyŏn P'okp'o by Kang Sehwang (姜世晃·1713-1791) as part of his 'Songdo Travel Album' (Songdo kihaengch'ŏp 松都紀行帖) from 1757



Figure 157: Chinese character name inscriptions on the cliff of Pakyŏn Fall



Figure 158: A modern continuation of names inscribed on rock in the Korean script



Figure 159: '2007.11.5, Pak Ch'ölju'

A modern continuation of the rock inscribing legacy can be spotted on the way coming from Pakyŏn Fall close to Kwanŭmsa temple. Here the names are given in the Korean script, *hangŭl* (Figure 158). Very recently, though not quite as permanent, a tree has been written on with the date and name: '2007.11.5 Pak Ch'ölju' (Figure 159).

The East Asian tradition of passing travellers to leave behind their names, occasionally also poems, has been taken up for more propagandistic purposes. The wish 'It would be nice to carve out some good inscriptions on the rocks for future

generations!' (Lankov 2007, 16) once expressed by Kim Il Sung certainly became true, because these recently added propagandistic inscriptions, indeed are deeply carved into the rocks before painted in bright red. However, by most foreign visitors they are regarded as being too excessive. All around the Pakyŏn area inscriptions range from slogans like 'Long live the Korean Workers' Party!' and 'Long live Leader Kim Il Sung!' (Figure 160 and Figure 161), to long ideological poems.



Figure 160: 'Long live the Korean Workers' Party!' Figure 161: Long live Leader Kim Il Sung!

Notable is that many of these songs were inscribed on the occasion of anniversaries. So were, for instance, the lyrics to the popular Chosŏn Youth group (*Chosŏn So'nyŏndan*) song 'Sesang-e purŏm ŏbtŏra' (having it all, there is nothing to envy in this world) inscribed in 1982 in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of its foundation. Others were inscribed for birthday anniversaries. Seeing the massive inscription of the song 'The mother of Chosŏn' for the 80th anniversary of Kang Pansŏk, mother of Kim Il Sung, dated to April 1972, one tourist just comments 'For us a thing beyond imagination' (Kim Tongsik 2008).



Figure 162: The song 'Sesang-e purŏm ŏbtŏra', 1982



Figure 163: 'The mother of Chosŏn' for the 80th anniversary of Kang Pansŏk, April 1972

Another rock inscribed in occasion of the 70th birthday anniversary of Kim Il Sung in April 1982 is titled 'We pray for a long and healthy life for the Great Leader' (Figure 164).



Figure 164: 'We pray for a long and healthy life for the Great Leader', April 1982

These last three occasions were also remembered in rock inscriptions of the famous mountain site Kŭmgang-san. There, the deep stone carved sayings and songs started a decade earlier in celebration of Kim Il Sung's 60th anniversary in 1972, but using the same texts with the exception of the 'Korean mother' song.³²⁴

³²⁴ On a visit to Mt. Kŭmgang-san in August 1973, Kim Jong Il personally came to see the work on the inscriptions which honoured his father's 'immortal achievements'. The DPRK rock carvings are supervised by the Institute of Party History, 'subordinated to the Central Committee. The Institute officials choose the sites for new inscriptions as well as their content' (Lankov 2007, 16). For a description and pictures of the inscribed songs in Kŭmgang-san see the blog: Paek Yusan 백유선 2005. 금강산에서 본 북한 노래 [금강산 기행기 19] 노래나 시를 새긴 '글발', <http://php.chol.com/~noza/xc/496#0>



*Figure 165: Kim Kajin 金嘉鎮.
This inscription rendered in red
gives reason to assume that it
refers to the independence fighter
of the same name (1846-1922).
Information and photograph
courtesy of Cornerstone*

In 2008 one younger tourist commented on the boldly visible omnipresence of the two Kims. ‘Wherever one goes one easily sees their idolization’. An elderly tourist (Song Hwagang 2009)³²⁵ visiting in December 2007 describes his feeling reading the omnipresent ideological narratives: ‘Ten meters in front of the Pakyŏn Waterfall a stone is placed inscribed with propaganda. Also all big rocks in the area are inscribed in the glorifying red that made me impatient. Yet when seen in the eternity of history, the era of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il is nothing but a brief moment. If only the future generations will continue and change the system! While walking I had such hopes, and had an open conversation with a fellow traveller until we were reprimanded by the secret agents ahead and behind us. Surprise.’

³²⁵ <http://blog.daum.net/rosy900/5661114> He equally describes his feelings of standing in front of the Pakyŏn Waterfall as a dream, as he and his wife previously only heard about it (without the hope ever visiting it).

Taehŭngsan-sŏng Pukmun North Gate

Following the path leading upwards behind the Pömsajöng Pavilion, there appears a larger open area with a view on the waterfall that because of its beauty was also called Kaesöng Kūmgang. In 1477 Yu mentions that a couple of steps up next to the *komodam* there appears the *yongwang-tang* (dragon king-hall)³²⁶, a place where in olden times there were held rain prayer rituals. Already in the Koryŏ period it was the site of the secondary palace Chinsöngji 鎭城址 and a 10km long fortress wall was built under the name P'inansöng 避難城.³²⁷ The current structure was rebuilt between 1675 and 1720.

According to Kim Il Sung the Taehŭngsan-sŏng fortress wall is not only a proud example of the construction and carving skills of the Korean ancestors, but also an example for the patriotic mind of the people. He claims that it was enhanced in defence of the Japanese Hideyoshi Invasion (1592), and was the place for resistance against the Japanese aggressors in 1907 (Academy of Social Science 1991, 232). This explanation is, of course, to be gathered from the site's signboard.

A Japanese Colonisation period photograph published in 1926 still shows a simple path without stairs (*Kaesönggun Myŏnji* 開城郡面誌, 2, 1926, reprinted in KGCCJC 1999 1999, 103) leading to the North Gate (designated national treasure no. 126) (Figure 166). Probably following the below anecdote, the path is now plastered with little rocks winding up in stairs.

Arriving at the Taehŭngsan-sŏng North Gate on his visit to Pakyŏn on August 26, 1957, Kim Il Sung asked one of the accompanying workers what else there is ahead of the North Gate. The worker



Figure 166: The North gate of the Taehŭngsansŏng Fortress (1926)

³²⁶ In 1607 Kim Yuk (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 140) refers to it as *chaeryong-tan* (dragon emperor -hall). He reaches it after going down, passing the two facing stone buddhas.

³²⁷ Taehŭngsan-sŏng fortress wall is further documented in 1676 in the Kwanbangjo of the Chungkyŏngji; Fortress wall picture courtesy of Jjalee 2008. http://hompy.dreamwiz.com/jjalee/cgi-bin/bbs/myhome_bbs.cgi?b=4&c=v&n=41&f=&m=&lc=15&up=.

replied that there lies the Kwanŭmsa temple, but that the way there is steep and uncomfortable (Academy of Social Science 1991, 229). Yet Kim remarked that he did not come to sightsee the Pakyŏn Fall, but to investigate how best to preserve and use the surrounding scenic spots and cultural remains. The description continues with a minute narrative of Kim, who despite all the worries of the attendants and the physical obstacles he faces, continues true to his aims.³²⁸ The fact that one of the workers slipped on a stone and hurt his foot gave reason for Kim Il Sung to stop and to tell with a laugh that this only happened because of the bad state of the path and instructed that it should be taken care of in the future (Academy of Social Science 1991, 230).



Figure 167: North Gate of the Taehŭngsansŏng fortress wall, courtesy of Jjalee 2008.

A further instruction by Kim on the same day was to build play grounds. Other visits to the Pakyŏn Fall followed by both Kims (Kim Il Sung in August 1957 and May 1992, Kim Jong Il on 22 August 1968), on which they emphasised the need to maintain it as a workers' recreational place. So on the way to Kwanŭmsa temple lays now the Pakyŏn recreational home. The North Korean scholar Chu Sŏngch'ŏl (2007, 42) notes that 'in earlier times the famous scenic spot of Pakyŏn Fall became the summer resort of the rich and powerful ruling class.

³²⁸ As B. R. Myers already highlighted, the importance of this type of narrative is to realise the time and efforts Kim takes to administer his guidance. (Myers 2010, 104)



Figure 168: The Pakyŏn Recreational Home, courtesy of Jjalee 2008.

Finally since the Great fatherly Leader bestowed his parental love for his people and opened up a new world after the depredation of the fatherland, the Pakyŏn Fall could become known by all through the recreational place that provides overflowing happiness and serves as a patriotic education centre for the people's pride'.

During the Japanese colonial period the area was already designated a natural protection area for Korean woodpeckers (*k'ŭnaksae pohokuyŏk*), taken up again in December 1982 under the natural designation no 433 (IPA 2004, 298).

V.III.II KWANŬMSA TEMPLE

Named after Kwanŭm (Chin. Guanyin 觀音), the Buddhist bodhisattva of compassion, this small temple is located in the beautiful valley between the mountains Chonmasan and Songgosan. It is designated a national treasure no. 125 (Yun Sangbin 2008, 46).

The temple was founded in 970 when a monk deposited two marble statues of the goddess in a natural rock cave behind the temple's current location, the Kwanŭm cave (Figure 169). One of the two stone Buddhas was moved in 1975 to the Pyongyang Central History Museum. The 1.2 meter high carved white marble sculpture depicts a seated Kwanŭm Avalokitesvara. It is designated *kukpo yujok* 154 (IPA 2004, *pojon'gŭb* 154) and was included in the ground-breaking exhibition of North Korean treasures that toured South Korea in 2006 (Korea National Museum 2006, 116-119).



Figure 169: Kwanŭmsa Cave stone Bodhisattva

At the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty under Chosŏn King T'aejo in 1393 Kwanŭmsa (觀音寺) was greatly extended³²⁹ and later repaired several times. Chosŏn period visitors remember and attribute the Kwanŭmsa temple to Chosŏn T'aejo (Yi Sŏnggye) in their travelogues (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 29). Originally there had been five buildings, but after the temple was greatly damaged by a fire during the Hideyoshi Invasion in 1592 (Chosŏn munhwa pojonsa 2005, 117), the temple was only rebuilt with the current reduced structure that includes the comparatively small main hall, the Taeungjŏn 大雄殿 and the L-shaped monk quarter (sŭngbang 승방) in 1646 and again in 1797. On a picture of Kwanŭmsa published in 1911 (KGCCJC 1999) though, an additional small open building can be made out, based on the still visible stone raised ground behind the 7-storey pagoda. In 1934 the Taeungjŏn underwent a great repair with a total cost of 7,320 Won and adding it to the 'worthwhile places for visitors

³²⁹ Ch'ae Su records in his travelogues from 1477 that Mokŭn Yi Saek wrote the temple construction protocol, *kimun* (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 29).

in the Pakyŏn area' (Tonga Ilbo 1934.10.27). During the restoration work after the Korean War the wooden railing in front of the Taeungjŏn Hall was not reconstructed.



Figure 170: Taeungjŏn Hall with adjunct building as published 1911



Figure 171: A photograph of Kwanumsa Taeungjŏn Hall published 1932, Chosŏn kojokdobo, Vol 12

Also the three Buddhist sculptures in the temple interior date to the reconstruction of 1646. Other remaining relics from the Koryŏ period are the 4.77m high seven-storey stone pagoda (*pojon'gŭp* 540) and the cave. At the entrance to the temple is a Ginkgo tree that is designated a national natural treasure no. 532. Further there are scattered stone remains like the Kwanŭmsa Turtle rock (*Kŏbu-bawui*), the korae-bawui rock, and a bathtub.³³⁰



Figure 172: Still in 2001 the designation stele and signboard were placed next to each other as seen above.

³³⁰ Images of which are published in: Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture, 2004: 248.



Figure 173: Taeungjŏn Hall, 2008. The designation post was moved closer to the stairway and a new signboard installed between the main hall and the monks' quarter



Figure 174: The L-shaped monk quarter in the background of the signboard³³¹ for the Kwanŭmsa temple put in place by the Kaesŏng People Committee.

An old legend relays why the decorations with carved flowers and leaves on one of the back doors of the Taeungjŏn are unfinished. During the 1646 reconstruction of the temple one of the main carvers was a twelve year old boy named Unna, famed for his skill in carving. One day, while working on the temple, he heard his mother was seriously ill, and asked to be allowed to visit her. He was refused, and his mother died shortly after. He blamed himself and his skilful hands for his mother's death, and so out of grief used his carving axe to chop off his hand. He then disappeared into the forest, never to be seen again. Today, a carving of a boy with only one hand ascending to heaven on the back of a white tiger can still be seen on the unfinished door carving (Figure 175) (Kang Kwangsu , n.d. *Kaesŏng*, Pyongyang, 71-72 Tourist Advertisement and Information Agency³³²).



Figure 175: The unfinished wood carving of the Taeungjŏn Hall (upper right corner) showing the boy Unna with his chopped-off hand ascending to heaven on a white tiger (upper left corner).

³³¹ It says among others that the site is a valuable cultural heritage that evokes the talent of the ancestors' talented architectural skills and craftsmanship.

³³² A more detailed and embellished version of the legend can be found in the legend compilation *Songdochŏnsŏl* Kim Hongan 2002, 132-142.

Some tourists felt to face also a contemporary legend at Kwanŭmsa, namely the wide spread prejudice that religion is suppressed in the DPRK. Many of them argue that the so-called monks are only appointed to keep up appearance. Confirming this sentiment one tourist recalls that in the Taeungjŏn hall there was one North Korean monk, but he absolutely could not evoke a feeling of knowing about Buddhism. However, the head monk of Kwanŭmsa told other South Korean visitors that ‘a thousand believers are following the Buddhist ceremony at this temple’ and categorises the followers as ‘citizens of Kaesŏng and the Hwanghae province (where the temple is located), mainly workers and farmers and many women’ (Song Hwagang 2009). Many visitors question this claim often referring to the lack of believers to be seen around. Kim Tongsik (2008.10.10), for instance, met the ‘head priest wore something like a modern *hanbok* (traditional Korean dress) with a high collar fixed behind his head. I did not see any pilgrims or other believers’. In defence of the monk’s statement it should be accredited that the one day trip was highly regulated, and the free movement of the local population was controlled by patrols at street crossings in town or village and along the road taken by the tourist buses.



Figure 176: Kwanŭmgul Cave and a collection box next to a worship stone, *paeryesŏk* (picture courtesy of Kim Tongsik)

As usually practiced in Korean temples and at Buddhist prayer sites, a collection box is installed outside the Kwanŭmgul cave (Figure 176). ‘I put one dollar note into the box. However, I felt the irony of putting Yankee money into the box as if it would speak out *there is no way we will ever be able to live together under the same sky* and so I added a [South] Korean one-thousand Won note’ (Kim Tongsik 2008).

V.IV THE MANIFOLD LEGACIES OF THE SÖNGGYUN'GWAN

Perhaps no other material remain from the past has undergone as many changes in use and reflect changing perception in time than the Sönggyun'gwan. Its compound has powerful cultural-historical value attached to it, encompassing legacies from a royal palace, guesthouse, higher education institute and a Confucian place of worship up to a museum. Therefore it is also a space, where the historical perception of Kaesöng's cultural heritage and its development is well represented.

V.IV.1 THE CONFUCIAN ACADEMY KORYŎ SÖNGGYUN'GWAN

The Koryŏ Sönggyun'gwan (高麗成均館) is located in the north-eastern part of Kaesöng town in the vicinity of T'anhyŏnmun Gate 炭峴門.³³³ Originally it was built as the secondary palace Taemyönggung 大明宮 in the eleventh century under King Munjong (文宗 r. 1046-1083).

With the Sung Chinese envoys Ando 安燾 and Chinmok 陳睦 arriving at the Koryŏ court in June 1078, the palace functioned as a royal guesthouse and changed the name to Sunch'ön'gwan 順天館. In their records, the *Koryŏ Tokyŏng*, the envoys attribute the meaning of the guesthouse's name to 'China that like heaven is respected and followed' (Ko 2007, 129).³³⁴

Little later the building complex also became connected to Confucian writing, when in 1089 the educational institute *Kukchagam* 國子監 moved into the buildings. When founded in 992, the *Kukchagam* was located in the area of Hoebinmun gate 會賓門 near the Pongŭnsa temple in the very south of Kaesöng (*Koryŏ To 'kyŏng*),³³⁵ from where it was transferred to

³³³ Like many other outer wall city gates, the exact location of T'anhyŏnmun still remains unclear, see for example the discussions by Ko Yusŏp and Chon Ryŏng-ch'öl. See: Kim Ch'ang-hyon 2002, 89.

³³⁴ Ko Yusŏp continues with a description of the building complex layout and organization as recorded in the Song document *Koryŏ Tokyŏng* (Ko 2007, 129-130).

³³⁵ It included three colleges: *Kukchahak* (Higher Chinese Classical College), *Taehak* (High Chinese Classical College), and *Samunhak* (Four Portals College). Subsequently, during King Injong's reign (1122-1146), the institution added three more colleges: *Yurhak* (Law College), *Sŏhak* (Calligraphy College), and *Sanhak* (Accounting College). The six colleges all came under the *Kukchagam*. Each college had different entrance qualifications, curricula, and instructors. The *Kukchahak* admitted the sons and grandsons of higher civil and military officials. (Lee Jeong-Kyu 2001).

Naesŏngdong (내성동, then: 국자동).³³⁶ It was a centre of sacrificial rites to Confucianism, where students studied the Confucian classics in order to succeed in the examinations to acquire an administrative post.³³⁷

After that time the basic characteristics and systems of the academy remained almost the same, although the name of the *Kukchagam* was changed into *Kukhak* and reorganised under the Yuan intervention in 1275. In 1298 under King Ch'unghnyŏl to it was named Sŏnggyun'gam, and then from the beginning of King Chungson's rule in 1308 onwards Sŏnggyun'gwan (Lee Jeong-Kyu 2001).³³⁸ In 1367, the 16th year of King Kongmin's reign, the structure was revamped and Yi Saek, and Chŏng Mongju, Confucian scholars of the time taught there as professors. Since then the general layout of the Sŏnggyun'gwan site stretches over an area of around 10,000 square meter comprising more than twenty buildings adding to about 200 *kan* (*kan*: the space interval between four pillars) (see also chapter III.I.vi).

Kim Jong Il visited Kaesŏng in August 1968 and wrote about the historical importance of the Sŏnggyun'gwan (2006, 62-67). Two stone markers at the entrance designate the Sŏnggyun'gwan as historical remain no 234 and national treasure no. 127 (Figure 53 and Figure 54).³³⁹ Interestingly, what in the sixteenth century was liberation of Yuan influences, today is the memory of foreign aggression that the Korean person was subjected to throughout its history. Part of the common cultural nation narrative, no occasion is missed to remember the atrocities suffered under the foreign intruders. So does the additional signpost not only inform visitors about the building's foundation as an educational institution in 992, it also explains its destruction during the Japanese Invasion in 1592 and its subsequent Chosŏn period repairs

³³⁶ According to the 12th c. record *Koryŏ To 'kyŏng* 高麗圖經 the Kukchagam moved from Hoe'binmun Gate to Yehanbang in the vicinity of Pongŭnsa temple. See: Korean History Research Group 2002, 214.

³³⁷ In the Koryŏ period, the national and local educational systems were closely related to the civil service examinations for selecting the governmental officials. The examination system began in the 10th year of King Kwangjong (958) and constituted three basic examination types: *Chesul-up* (the Examination of Chinese Literary Composition) concerned Chinese literature, *Myong-kyong-up* (the Examination of Chinese Classics) related to Confucian canonical works, and the others called *Chap-up* (the Miscellaneous Examinations), such as law, accounting, calligraphy, medicine, divination, and geomancy (Lee, 1986; Lee, 1984; Lee Seongmoo 1994).

³³⁸ During the reign of King Kongmin the Sŏnggyun'gwan was reformed and restored. First in 1356 the academy was renamed to *Kukchagam*, to be changed back again to Sŏnggyun'gwan in 1362. See: Chŏn Ryong-ch' ŏl 2002. *Tracing Kaesŏng's ancient relics* (Kaesŏng-ŭi yet chach'ui-rŭl dŏdumŏ 개성의 옛 자취를 더듬어), Pyongyang, 172.

Another name applied to Sŏnggyun'gwan in the period between 1078 and 1308 is Sungmun'gwan and Hongmun'gwan. See: Korean History Research Group 2002, 214.

³³⁹ It is also listed as historical remain 사적 No 50, designated ancient remain 지정고적 No 234, and national treasure, 국보유적 No 127 (NRICH 2006, 176).

between 1602 and 1610.³⁴⁰ Nevertheless, already before its destruction the absence of students and study material is remarked by Yu Hoin and Nam Hyoon in 1477 in 1485 respectively. With the end of the Koryŏ period and the subsequent move of the institute to the new capital Seoul, the Sŏnggyun'gwan was not demolished, but turned into a provincial school *haktang*, but the name remained.

Perhaps due to the constant struggle against foreign domination, there persists a common nation narrative of a proud comparison of Korea with the international community. As Kim Il Sung before them, North Korean historians claim the Sŏnggyun'gwan to be the oldest university established in the world, proudly stating its age 70 year older than the university of Parma, Italy (Chŏn & Chin 2002, 19; Sŏng Myŏng-chae 2003, 43). However, this pride in the *oldest* university and focus on world comparisons is equally a South Korean sentiment (see: Lee Pyŏngt'ae 2005). Accordingly, the North Korean art historian Chŏn Ryŏng-ch'ŏl stresses the importance of the Sŏnggyun'gwan complex in Korean and world history where Koryŏ scientists and historians were responsible for the great achievements and discoveries of their time (Chŏn 2002, 176-8).³⁴¹

In the yard are two rare trees, that were planted on the reopening of the Koryŏ Sŏnggyun'gwan in 1610. These 400 year old trees are however considered much older, a 900-year-old Zelkova (natural treasure 387) and a more than 500-year-old Gingko tree (natural treasure 386), also nicknamed *Apgaksu* 押脚樹, because the huge hole in its trunk has the shape of a duck foot. Both were designated natural monuments by Kim Il Sung in January 1980, at the same time when most designated trees in Kaesŏng became national treasures. Their age was to corroborate the antiquity of the Sŏnggyun'gwan, the oldest academy. On 15 June 1996 both were honoured with signposts to publicise their designation.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ In 1602 the Taesŏnggiŏn and Sŏjae were restored, in 1605 Tongmu, Sŏmu and Myŏngnyundang, in 1610 Tongjae and all the other buildings were reconstructed in the course of the following eight years. During his visit to Kaesŏng in spring 1607, Kim Yuk describes a brief rest at the Sŏnggyun'gwan. He notes that the buildings to both sides of the main gate and the servant quarters were newly constructed, but objects the absence of Confucian scholars at the academy (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 134).

³⁴¹ On his visit to Kaesŏng in August 1968, Kim Jong Il refers to the Sŏnggyun'gwan as one of the rare old educational institutes worldwide. 'It is an important historical relic, a national treasure that acclaims pride worldwide. Although the buildings' colour and antiquated Tangjang should have been preserved, it was not well managed. From now on it ought to be well maintained.'

³⁴² Kim Jong Il (2006, 1968) mentioned the huge Gingko tree already earlier, guessing its age to be about 1000 years and suggesting to designate it as a natural memorial (천연기념물).

V.IV.II *BETWEEN UNITY AND DEMARCATION: HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE KAESŎNG KORYŎ MUSEUM*

Despite the change of function, the Sŏnggyun'gwan continues in this spirit of a prided legacy. It now holds the Kaesŏng Koryŏ Museum that exhibits and tells of great achievements and discoveries. In 1988 the Kaesŏng History Museum 開城歷史博物館 moved to the Sŏnggyun'gwan from its previous location in Sŏnjukdong 善竹洞 under the new name Koryŏ Museum. Due to the long established name, in both Koreas it is still often referred as the Koryŏ Sŏnggyun'gwan (Institute of North Korea Study 2006, 113).

After the move of the museum to the Sŏnggyun'gwan, the use of several buildings increased the usable space by nearly four times to 1,500 square meters with an additional wide surrounding outside area for stone sculptures. When the previous Kaesŏng History Museum opened under DPRK control in January 1952, its museum space measured 400 square meters. After the suggestion of Kim Il Sung, the original plan was to install a museum at the Manwŏltae palace site, but allegedly due to its destruction during the Korean War, the plan was not followed up. The buildings of the Sŏnggyun'gwan long stood empty (see pictures in publications prior to 1988) and so the practical solution was to move the museum there. Nevertheless, the plan of opening a museum at the palace site still seems to be up to date. One archaeologist from the recent joint Korean excavation at Manwŏltae mentioned in conservation that thanks to long discussions and persuasion about the value and protection of the archaeological site, the same plan was abandoned for now (conversation with Park Sung Jin on 1 May 2009).

As the architecture is not that of a purpose-built museum, the exhibition space follows the spatial layout of the buildings. The museum display is organized in five exhibition areas divided by the single buildings of the historical Sŏnggyun'gwan compound and its outdoor space (Figure 177).

Displayed there are more than 1,000 pieces of historic relics. In its main exhibition hall there are historic relics showing the foundation of Koryŏ and the history of its development including an old map of Kaesŏng. Exhibited there are also metal types developed for the first in the world, Buddha from the Chŏkjo temple [Chŏkjosa 寂照寺] estimated as one of the excellent relics listed as a national treasure dating back to the

Koryŏ dynasty and relics showing the development of metal workmanship, architecture, sculpture and painting (KCNA 2002).



Figure 177: 'Koryŏ Museum Information Map', picture taken in October 2008. A very similar map with minor differences in detail is published earlier in an *Encyclopaedia* (IPA 2004, 257). These details show the changing function of the museum, prior also used as an outdoor folk game area, for instance for bow shooting, wrestling and a traditional swing.

The museum tour conducted by a museum guide and detailed in the scant literature on the museum, also follow the architectural structure. The exhibition spreads clockwise through four buildings of the second yard and an outdoor area. The *tongmu*, the eastern flanking building hosts the first exhibition room deals with the founding of the first unifying kingdom Koryŏ and its historical material. In both Koreas, Koryŏ is recognized as the first unified Korean period³⁴³ and thus carries significant symbolic weight in contemporary interpretations of the nation (cf. Chapter II.I).

The official historiographies of both Koreas culturally identify with the golden period of the first Korean unified dynasty, the Koryŏ period. Therefore the name given to the Koryŏ Museum is important in regard to nation and state identifications. The museum is also conducting academic study and the work of discovering and collecting historic relics in the vicinity of Kaesŏng (KCNA 2002).

Although museum practices and the historical interpretation in the Koryŏ Museum are not the product of a joint Korean effort, the Koryŏ Museum is of particular interest for its role as a contemporary mediator of Korean national and state identities (Scheidhauer 2010, 361).

³⁴³ In South Korea only recently, as previous governments tried to emphasize the unification of three kingdoms under the Silla in 668 CE on contemporary South Korean territory. The idea of the prehistoric legendary foundation of the Korean nation and its unity is well established in the two Koreas.

Before entering the main compound of the Koryŏ Museum, the visitor is already confronted with the historical Koryŏ theme of the museum. As the name of the museum suggests, the focus of the exhibitions is the Koryŏ period. The museum is located in the capital city of that period, in a building that like its exhibition content stems from that same period.

Unifying Koryŏ

In the museum Koryŏ is demonstrated as the successor of the Koguryŏ kingdom that united the other two kingdoms of Silla and Paekche under it. Two paintings depict the events of unification with Silla and Paekche under Koryŏ flanked with handwritten excerpts from the historical record, the Koryŏsa, to legitimise the historical claim. The paintings are titled ‘Silla capitulates to Koryŏ (935)’ and ‘Late-Paekche surrenders to Koryŏ (936)’ (Figure 178 - Figure 179).



Figure 178: ‘Silla capitulates to Koryŏ in 935’



Figure 179: ‘Late-Paekche surrenders to Koryŏ in 936’

The historiography in the museum does not make any reference to the previous ‘Unified Silla’ period that unified the kingdoms of Paekche and Kaya under Silla, all areas in the southern half of the Korean peninsula (the reasons of which are illuminated in section II.I.III). But it does touch on the Kingdom of Parhae (698-926), a successor state of Koguryŏ in the northern regions and eastern Manchuria. Weakened internally by a segregated social structure of Koguryŏ and Malgal peoples, the Kingdom of Parhae was the first victim of the Khitan's great expansion. After its conquest, many Parhae people tried to escape captivity fleeing south to Koryŏ.³⁴⁴ Koryŏ warmly welcomed these refugees, particularly those of Koguryŏ descent, and

³⁴⁴ In 926, when Khitan tribes finally engulfed Parhae and brought the power of the steppe nomads ever closer to Koryŏ's northern frontier, Wang Kŏn initiated plans to recapture the old Koguryŏ territory of T'aebong. He

assimilated them into its ruling class. T'aejo Wang Kōn generously gave them land and bestowed the title *Wang Kye*, 'Successor of the Royal Wang,' on Parhae's Crown Prince Tae Kwang-hyon. He also included the prince's name in the royal household register, a clear indication that Wang Kōn considered him a member of the same lineage.

A third painting titled 'Taking in Parhae migrants' shows T'aejo's benevolent act of welcoming his poor brothers. Following this sequence of paintings the issue of legitimacy over unification, although just implicit, easily imposes itself. I therefore asked if history might serve as an example for today's Korea, for instance the possible comparison of an equally benevolent Kim Jong Il taking South Koreans into his kingdom. Kim Yōngjun (from the ROK Unification Research Institute and participant of the Kaesōng Tourism seminar in 2007) answered in the negative. In his opinion people generally are generally not aware of this historical fact and would not connect it to current issues of unification (email reply by Kim Yōngjun, October 2009).

The Taesongjōn functions as exhibition hall two with examples of Koryō's scientific advancements. As the 40 year old senior guide, Ms Ri Oklan³⁴⁵ explained (2005.08.26), the 'Koryō Museum shows the progress of Koryō's foundation and its productivity. On foremost importance among Koryō culture are the displayed Koryō celadon wares, ceramics and the world's first movable metal type.'

stationed a large military garrison force in Pyongyang under the command of his cousin, General Wang Sing-nyom.

³⁴⁵ Ri Oklan 李玉蘭 is a Kaesōng native who graduated in history at Kaesōng's Songdo University. In 2005 she already worked at the museum for a good fifteen years (Hong Yōngüi 2006, 195). She also participated in the inter Korean historian meeting in Kaesōng 2005, see section IV.I.



Figure 180: Cabinet with celadon wares



Figure 181: Three shapes of celadon ware



Figure 182: Celadon flask

A couple of glass cabinets display the various shapes and decorative patterns of Koryŏ celadon wares, a ceramic recognized for its fine jade-green glaze and elegant shape (Figure 180 - Figure 181).³⁴⁶ Kim Il Sung remarked simply that ‘Since ancient times our country’s ceramics are famous. Our ancestors produced fine ceramics’ (Kim Il Sung 1995, 238-9). Following in the footsteps of this trite remark scholars research its history and production methods³⁴⁷ and craftsmen try to evoke their beauty in contemporary productions in what is named Kaesŏng porcelain,³⁴⁸ examples of which can be purchased in the museum shop. The ceramics are exhibited together with some iron and bronze artefacts,³⁴⁹ the most prominent being the metal

³⁴⁶ The Western term *celadon* is thought to derive from the name of the hero in a seventeenth-century French pastoral comedy. The colour of the character’s robe evoked, in the minds of Europeans, the distinctive green-glazed ceramics from China, where celadon originated. See, Soyoung Lee 2000. ‘Goryeo Celadon’. In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/cela/hd_cela.htm (October 2003). For some Korean voices on Koryŏ celadon, see: Ko Yusŏp 1936. ‘Koryŏdoja’, *Tonga Ilbo*, 1936.01.02-03.

Cho Hwan-sŏk 1964. Koryŏ celadon with sanggam –inlay (고려 청자 상감 자기), *Kogo minsok*, 1964(2):62-64. Ch’ŏn Sŏk-kŭn 1989. Koryŏ p’urŭn chagi-ŭi munŭi pakich’ijangyangsik-ŭi pyŏnch’ŏn-e taehayŏ, *Chosŏn kogo yŏn’gu*, 1989(1): 39-43.

³⁴⁷ See for examples the studies by Ri Ch’ŏlyŏng published in the *Chosŏn kogo yŏn’gu*, 2001(2): 33-35; 40-41 following excavations of an ancient ceramic kiln in the 1990s.

³⁴⁸ The rebirth of celadon ware manufaction seems to be a rather recent development. For instance, the *Chosŏn Ilbo* reports of the ‘New production of Koryŏ ceramics at the Kaesŏng Koryŏ ceramics manufaction association – every day open exhibition’ (1937.11.18).

The prestigious artist Sin Hyonsu from the ceramics production unit of the Mansudae Art Studio in Pyongyang won the first prize at the 2008 China Jingdezhen International Ceramic Fair (Korea, 2009a. ‘Korean Celadon Wins Gold Prize’).

³⁴⁹ Wang Sŏngsu 1978. A newly discovered Koryŏ period bronze brazier in Kaesŏng (Kaesŏng-aeso saero ŭrŏnan koryŏsigi ch’ŏngdonghwaro 개성에서 새로 드러난 고려시기 청동화로), *Ryŏksa Kwahak*, 1978(1):47-48.

The tendency to exhibit Koryŏ celadon wares together with iron and bronze artefacts can be observed from early onwards, for instance, in the special exhibition in the Pyongyang Central History Museum that opened 14 August 1957. ‘Koryŏ tochagi-wa ch’ogi kŭmsok yumul chŏnsihoi’, *Munhwa Yusan*, 1957(5): 76-79 and 19.

movable print letter. As in South Korean museums, the Kaesŏng Museum proudly highlights the use of movable print in Korea dating from the early thirteenth century. This fact is fiercely promoted through the display of material evidence. It demonstrates that Koreans used this printing technique two hundred years prior to Gutenberg.

On a panel (literally translated: Kim Il Sung teaching) overlooking the exhibition room, Kim Il Sung's citation affirms the glorious achievements of the Korean people and the important role that metal-type printing played for Koreans and the world (Figure 183).³⁵⁰ The exhibited metal type movable letter shows the character *chŏn* 顛 that was excavated at the Sinbongmun gate site of Manwŏltae palace in 1958 (Figure 180). Together with the letter *pok* 復 exhibited in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul, they are the only two remaining from the Koryŏ period.



Figure 183: A metal type movable letter for book-printing. The explanation of the display reads: 'World's first bronze movable print letter (11-12th century)'

³⁵⁰ Quite a few articles stress the importance of the Koryŏ metal print and that it antedates the Gutenberg print, as also pointed out in the official DPRK history *Chosŏn chŏn*sa (1979, 6: 400), see for example: Cho Chŏng-wŏn 2009. 'Koryŏ-ŭi kŭmsok hwalja palmyŏngsigi-wa kŭ kisuljŏkjŏnje', *minjok munhwa yusan*, 2009(1):20-22, Kim Ch'ang-kil 2002. 'Koryŏsigi-ŭi myŏtkachi kŭmsok munyusan', *minjok munhwa yusan* 2002 (8): 17-19, and Pak Young-kon 2003. 'Uri gŭlja-ae uihan ch'ot bonyokbon', *minjok munhwa yusan* 2003 (12): 20. Nevertheless, this point has already been fiercely discussed in Korea since the late 1920s, for one in reaction to European publications of the time falsely claiming the invention for them or arguing that the technique employed in Asia derived from China (Haberlandt, Michael 1923. *Die Koreaner, Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, Vol 2, 649) and as part of the focus on the distinct Korean script during the cultural movement (e.g. Yi Yunjae 李允宰 이윤재 1928. *The culture of Sejong the Great* (세종성대의 문화), *Pyŏlgŭn'gon* 別乾坤, 13, 58 and Kim Yungyŏng).



Figure 184: The *Chikjisingyŏng* (1377) that ‘demonstrates the high printing culture of the Koryŏ period’

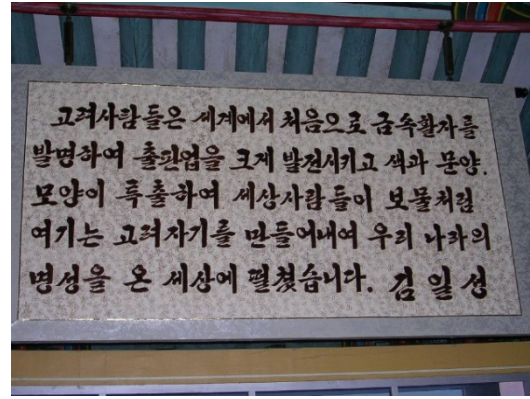


Figure 185: Panel teaching Kim Il Sung’s appraisal of metal type printing

Ms Ri further introduces the ‘many bronze artefacts representative for the craft development of the Koryŏ dynasty, like braziers, mirrors, gongs, bells etc produced with vigorous activity during the 500 years of Koryŏ’s capital reflecting the wisdom of the ancestors.’

The small building of the Kyesongsa, exhibition room three, hosts a seated iron Buddha statue (called 적조사쇠부처 or *ch’ŏlbul*) (Figure 187). In 1925 it was moved from the Chŏkjo-sa temple 寂照寺 site in Kaesŏng Pakyŏn-li³⁵¹ to the Kyŏngbuggung Palace museum in Seoul and was then returned to the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum in September 1935 (*Chosŏn Ilbo* 1935.09.16), where it was placed in the main exhibition hall, on display place no 1 (Kaesŏng Museum 1936, 12; IPA 2003, 256). The statue is a fine example of early Koryŏ iron craft and weights over a ton. It is designated a national treasure, no. 137 (NRICH 2006, 188).

Like the photograph published in 1936 (Figure 186), another one dated to ca. 1950 of the same statue (Woo 1970, 32) still shows it without hands and placed on top of the same pedestal. Nowadays it is seated on a lower and less decorated granite pedestal with restored hands.

³⁵¹ In the 1936 booklet the iron seated Buddha figure is not referred to as being from Chokjo-sa temple, but from a ruined site in Kaep’ung-gun Yŏngnam-myŏn P’yŏngch’ŏn-dong (1936, 12). Although a comparison of the two photographs shows some differences, the different perspectives and print quality do not allow ascertaining if they might be two different figures. Neither could I find out on what criteria the new provenance from Chokjo-sa was argued.



Figure 186: Early Koryŏ Iron Buddha from Chŏkjo-sa temple site now and in 1936, when it is depicted with its hands broken off.



Figure 187: Chŏkjo-sa temple iron Buddha statue with restored hands

However, it is not only the high culture and achievements of the Koryŏ people that are on display. In conformity with the historical theory of Soviet-style Marxism (cp to discussion in section III.I.v), one poster in the exhibition of the Koryŏ Museum illustrates the shortcomings of the Koryŏ feudal society. It illustratively compares the low market price of a human slave to the significantly higher one of an ox.

Equally, the ideology of *Chuch'e* is propagated in the Koryŏ Museum that highlights themes of people's revolution and national independence. A poster of peasant rebellions between the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries refers to manifold local uprisings (Figure 188). Kim Jong Il said that 'also in the second part of the twelfth century many peasant armies had army like organisation and equipment and lead great battles.'

The historical backdrop for these rebellions is a military *coup d'état* in 1170 that shook aristocratic



Figure 188: Map of peasant rebellions end 12th- beg. 13th c. in the Koryŏ Museum

society of Koryŏ. The new ruling power deposed and exiled King Ŭijong (who ruled from 1146-1170), and killed many civilians in order to set up its government. Corruption and tyranny ran rampant and caused great suffering among the people, especially peasants and slaves who rose up in rebellion and fought for their freedom.

The local slave rebellion in Kaesŏng was led by Manjŏk in April 1198, when one hundred slaves raised against their masters and killed them. During a gathering of the rebels in the woods of Sorak Mountain, the group was smashed by the famous military man Ch'oe Ch'ung-hŏn (1149-1219) and their dead bodies deposited off in the Ryesŏng river. Even though the uprising was very short-lived at its time, modern North Korean legends accredit the slaves as courageous pioneers in the struggle of the people against their oppressors (Ri Sŏng-tŏk in Chosŏn Anthology 1999, 166-167).³⁵² Just as suggested 'On the proper evaluation and treatment of cultural heritage of our nation with correct viewpoint and attitude', the ideological nation narrative of the museum 'deals with the national cultural heritage on a class basis and appraises it according to the interests of our revolution. [...] We must revive those parts that are beneficial to our revolution and discard those that are detrimental' (Kim Jong Il 1970, in Kim Jong Il 2006, 69+72).

Apart from the internal struggles against the feudal Koryŏ society, the exhibition also illuminates the historical struggle and advancement of the Korean people to defend their national independence from foreign invaders.³⁵³

One celebrated hero is the Koryŏ General Kang Kamch'an (948-1031).³⁵⁴ Even though he was a career scholar and government official, he is best known for his military victories during the Third Koryŏ-Khitans War.³⁵⁵ Next to his portrait is a big red panel with a Kim Il Sung quote in golden letters that says: 'During the 5000 year long history our wise people have created a glorious culture and as a brave race fought up to the end for the sake of the country's

³⁵² See also: Mun Sŏng-yŏp 문성엽 1978. Koryŏ military period 1170-1270 (고려무신정권시기 1170-1270-전국적대농민전쟁과 관련한 몇가지 문제). *Ryŏksa kwahak* 1: 36-40.

³⁵³ O Yŏngch'ŏl 2006. Koryŏ's splendid victory in the Koryŏ-Khitans War (고려-거란전쟁에서 고려의 빛나는 승리 1+2), *Minjok Munhwa Yusan*, 2006(1):14-15, (2):16-17.

³⁵⁴ Somewhere in the middle of the thirty minute bus-ride from Pakyŏn Pokpo waterfall to Kaesŏng the North Korean guide explained that the village we see is the one where General Kang Kamch'an used to live.

³⁵⁵ The Koryŏ victory over the Khitan is also subject to several North Korean articles, see *minjok munhwa yusan*, 2006(2+3) in connection to an excavation at the Kaesŏng bridge T'akt'a-kyo. The court poet Yu Hoin notes the bridge during his Kaesŏng visit in 1477 as the place where T'aejo Wang Kŏn in remembrance of the Khitan Parhae alliance that destroyed the latter, rejected the 50 camels offered by the Khitan (Koran) and sent them to death down the river (Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 77). The 30 delegates were sent to exile. This episode is also described in *minjok21* and Korean History Research Group, 2002. *Koryŏ-ŭi hwangto kaegyŏng* 153, 38.

independence against foreign aggressors' (the latter part having a striking resemblance to the quote of the national hero Admiral Yi Sunsin of the Chosŏn period, see section II.III.ii).

Unsurprisingly, there is a good number of drawings and exhibits that focus on the theme of warfare. The visitor can, for instance, look at drawings of Koryŏ engineering inventions for warfare or an iron helmet of a Koryŏ general that ironically was discovered while ploughing a Japanese owned field in Kaesŏng in 1933 (*Tonga Ilbo* 1933.11.04) (Figure 189).



Figure 189: Koryŏ period bow and helmet

A three dimensional replica of the King Kongmin's tomb chamber and its mural paintings is the last exhibit (Figure 190). In front of the entrance to the chamber is a model of the tomb compound that gives an idea of the tomb's general layout. Two (replica?) stone sculptures of military officials that originate from Kongmin's tomb compound flank the replica entrance. The guide told that the Japanese were committing tomb robbery, but could not find the entrance to the tomb chamber. Finally they resorted to explosives to enter it (cf. section III.I.vi).



Figure 190: South Korean visitor entering the Kongmin tomb chamber replica in the Koryŏ Museum

An article from 1958 about the Kaesŏng History Museum, the forerunner of the Koryŏ Museum, mentions the excavation of the tomb (P'anmun-gun, Chŏnchae-li Pobdang-dong) in July 1956 and how a copy of the mural painting is exhibited in the middle of the museum (Kim, Il-wŏn 1958, 67).³⁵⁶ The focus is on the inheritance and continuation from Koguryŏ mural paintings to Koryŏ ones, art historically confirming the official DPRK historiography of Koryŏ being the legitimate successor to Koguryŏ. So far I have not found any photographic or other

³⁵⁶ An unusually long article with drawings and photographs describes the excavation of the tomb chamber and its burial goods in more detail. See Chŏn Chu-nong 1960. Excavation report of Koryŏ King Kongmin's tomb Hyŏllŭng (고려 공민왕 현릉 발굴 개보), *Munhwa Yusan* 4: 73-87.

documentation that could give a clue if the copies of the time were two dimensional or perhaps the same replica as visited today.

For the convenience of distinction or purely naming archaeological finds and artefacts that have no previous record, common practice normally numbers them in relation to provenance and form. Occasionally, one-time associations turn into name-givers for these objects. Much more so, when the name-giver is a prominent personality like Kim Il Sung or his son, Kim Jong Il. The most wonderful example of which is the two stone dragon heads, that are placed in front of the Taesŏngjŏn exhibition room into the courtyard. Northkoreans refer to them as *ryongdaekari* 룡대가리, whereas South Koreans use the description *yongmŏri* 용머리, both literally meaning dragon head. The dragonheads come from different sites in Kaesŏng, and were once distinguished by an association with their respective sites.



Figure 191: The 'male' and 'female' dragon heads

But following a visit to the Koryŏ Museum by Kim Il Sung in commemoration of the 1000th anniversary of the Koryŏ Sŏnggyun'gwan on 5 May 1992, the *Great Leader* introduced the now much used female-male distinction by saying that male animals are better looking than their female counterparts. He then designated the head from the Such'anggun palace site as the male one, and the one from the Manwŏltae palace site as the female one (Chŏn Ryong-ch'ŏl 2002, 194) (Figure 191).

During this same visit Kim Il Sung designated five major Kaesŏng Koryŏ cultural treasures (Sŏnggyun'gwan, Sŏnjukkyo, Manwŏltae Palace, T'aejo royal tomb, Kongmin royal tomb). On a follow-up visit on 1 September 1992, the symbolism of the number five became interwoven into a fanciful story formed around the installation of a two meters high granite plate with Kim Il Sung's personal handwriting in front of the entrance of the newly opened University building called after its historic example Koryŏ Sŏnggyun'gwan (Sŏng Myŏngjae 2003) (Figure 192).

The five letters read ‘Koryŏ Sŏnggyun’gwan’. Kim Il Sung is said to have taught that these five letters symbolically stand for the five periods through which the Sŏnggyun’gwan building complex existed (Koryŏ, Chosŏn, Japanese occupation, South Korean and North Korean) and the five grand Kaesŏng cultural treasures (Lee Pyŏngt’ae 2005) that were designated on the fifth day of the fifth month (Chin 2002, 19). Measured by the quantity of physical and oral markers commemorating the sayings, acts or visits of Kim Il Sung in Kaesŏng and the Koryŏ Museum, the big five symbolism is only outdone by the greatest of all Kaesŏng treasures, Kim Il Sung himself.



Figure 192: Kim stele in front of the ‘new’ university Koryŏ Sŏnggyun’gwan

Outside the museum are placed thirteen stone statues, mostly pagodas from temple sites in the Kaesŏng area. Among others there is the 7-storey stone pagoda built in 1020 and stone stelae from Hyŏnhwasa 玄化寺 七層石塔 –사비 (Figure 193).³⁵⁷



Figure 193: Hyŏnhwasa stone stele and 7-storey pagoda in the museum garden 2008

³⁵⁷ Hwang Sŏnhoe (2007, 41) writes that the inscription dates it to 1021. See: Hwang Sŏnhoe 황선희 2007. Historical relic Hyŏnhwasa temple stele (ryŏksayujŏk hyŏnhwasabi 력사유적- 현화사비). *Minjok Munhwa Yusan* 4: 41.

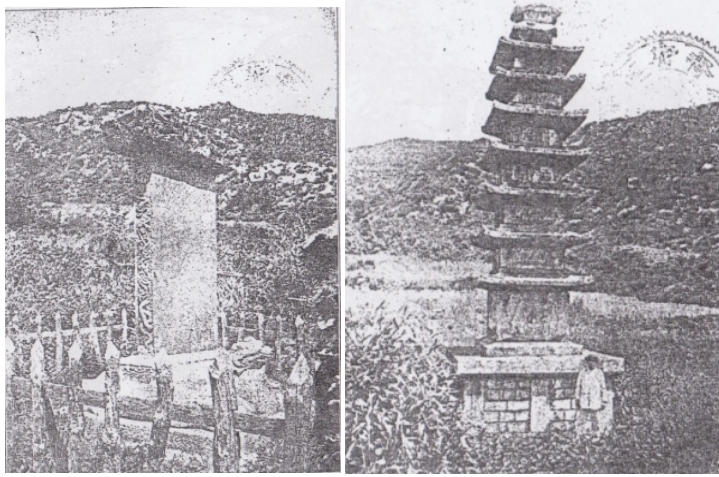


Figure 194: Photographs published 1911 show the relics at the original site, the stele surrounded by a wooden fence (KGCCJC 1999, 102), the pagoda unprotected in the middle of a field (KGCCJC 1999, 101)

Then there is the stone lantern from Kaeguksa 開國寺 石燈 dated to 935 that was moved to the front yard of the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum in May 1936.

Further there is the stone pagoda from Hŭngguksa, national treasure 132. According to its inscription it had been constructed by general Kang Kam-ch'an (see the description above of his portrait in the museum) in 1021 after his victory over the third Kitan war in 1019. It stood in the centre of Manwŏltae-tong (in front of the early 20th century hospital) on the Hŭngguksa temple site from where it was moved to the Kaesŏng provincial museum's yard on 5 October 1935 (Kim Il-wŏn 1958, 67; Chin 1970, 168) and lastly moved to the yard of the current Koryŏ Museum. According to its inscription, it was built for the happiness and peace of the country. One cannot say if it is an indicator of the current happiness of the country, but of the original 5 storeys only 3 remain today.

The 5-storey pagoda from Purilsa temple 佛日寺五層石塔, national treasure 135 (NRICH 2006, 186), was moved in spring 1960 from its original site to Kaesŏng's town centre in Naesŏngdong (also T'aep'yŏng-dong) (Figure 195). During this transfer three gilt miniature pagodas, a 9-storey, 5-storey and 3-storey one, 22 little stone pagodas, 3 reliquary containers, glass pearls, 3 textiles, papers and more were found in its inside, which are now displayed in the museum (Wang Sŏngsu 1965). With the opening of the museum in 1988 the pagoda was relocated to the museum's yard.



Figure 195: Purilsa 5-storey pagoda

As this collection of exhibits in the museum shows, artefacts that are still relatively well preserved are moved from their original sites although in close vicinity. This is done for their protection, but also to have all the objects of pride in one embracing collection.³⁵⁸ When disturbed by socio-political events, the heritage practice of collections can have huge consequences for the collections dispersion and occasional difficulty in establishing provenances. This is true for many Koryŏ artefacts preserved in South Korea today that have a Kaesŏng provenance with quite a dramatic history (see section IV.IV on the collection policy of the museum).

³⁵⁸ Compare, for example with the South Korean Museum of Kyŏngju, where replicas of the towns national treasures and World Heritage sites, are displayed, probably to give the complete picture of the valuable cultural heritage in the museum compound.

Despite the museum's ascription to hegemonic agency for the production and public representation of knowledge and national belonging, the knowledge produced within is the convoluted product of state sponsored ideology. The role and practices of the cultural workers employed within the museum, from curator to guides, is that of agents of the particular propagated knowledge production. As authenticators of truth, the authority of the North Korean museum guide as a professional is twofold.

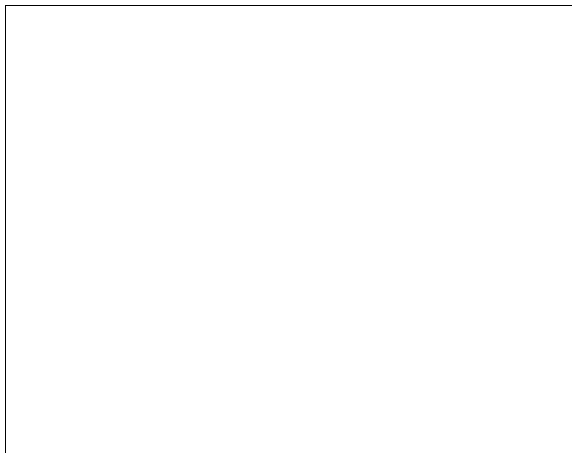


Figure 196: The Koryŏ Museum guide Ms Ri Oklan in 2005 © ohmynews Chang Yunsŏn

For one the guide gives orientation and is the source of valuable explanation about the collection (Figure 196). At the same time the authority over the ideological narrative is further embodied in the role of the North Korean guide who, equipped with a megaphone, leads the visitors through the museum. The traditionally-dressed guide entertains the visitor not only with historical facts, but also with historical anecdotes and ideologically-charged explanations, as illustrated with the following example.

Asked by a tourist how North Koreans perceive the prominent historic figures of Kaesŏng, Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk, Chŏng Mongju and Yi Pangwŏn, the North Korean guide replied that there is no high perception of Sŏ Kyŏng-tŏk (Chapter V.III.i) because he did not leave behind any significant work for the people. In comparison it seems that Chŏng Mongju (V.II.ii) is esteemed higher, but stands for a loyalty in service of a feudal system.

Surprisingly the judgement of T'aejong Yi Pangwŏn [Chŏng Mongju's alleged murderer] fell out generously. It seemed to acknowledge the fact that he lay the foundation for [and was the father of the highly esteemed and venerated Chosŏn] King Sejong [who among other things had the Korean alphabet invented]. And this although

if in North Korea the Chosŏn dynasty is mentioned, just like the Koryŏ dynasty, is immediately connoted with the *Feudal period* (Tüngdaemaru 2008).

Back in time over 500 years, when travelling Kaesŏng after the dynastic change from Koryŏ to Chosŏn, the scholar Nam Hyo-on showed some reluctance towards a Koryŏ focused narrative. In his travelogue he describes how he visits his friend Yi Ch'ong (李摠, penname Paek Wŏn 百源) in Kaesŏng 1485. His host invited the local elderly Han Su as a guide, because he 'had a good knowledge of the past [Koryŏ] dynasty's remains'. Han Su's detailed guidance and explanation of the past dynasty is met with some ambivalence by the guest who weighs:

I do not know to say if his narration [of the Koryŏ dynasty and its relics] is very interesting or rather tedious'. [...] 'Han Su showed us the foundation stones of a building outside the eastern entrance [to the T'aemyodong] saying that this is the place where Chŏng Mongju experienced the death by the Koryŏ opposition. Han Su guided us and only shortly after passing through a village showed us a small house claiming that it used to be the house of Chŏng Mongju (Nam Hyo-on 1485, in Chŏn Kwansu 2008, 79-80).

The 'excessive' focus on the local narrative revering the past dynasty and its loyalist hero may be compared to contemporary narratives on North Korean ideologically marked territory as experienced by the South Korean visitor. Then and today, 'heritage is valued because it allows people to tell stories about- and thereby reaffirm- their own social contexts and lifestyles' (Holtorf 2006: 170). Yet the contexts may differ between the local guide and the visitor, both consumers of the same heritage confronted with diverging ideologies.

During today's tours tourists were told not to raise political issues and if they do, even among each other, are rebuked. Particularly in the Pakyŏn Waterfall area, passing many ideological rock inscriptions, the confrontation with these sites contrary to their ideological narratives left the tourists feel a little disturbed (see the Pakyŏn episode in section V.III.i). However, it should be noted that the tour guides did not explicitly include it into the tour.



Figure 197: Here, directly behind the walls of the museum yard with the designation marker for the 1000 year old ginkgo tree, lays buried the bone of contention, the grave of a revolutionary patriot. Picture courtesy of Song Hwa'gang

One of the rare accounts of directly ideologically confronting guidance came from one of the many observing attendants, who said to be a Kaesŏng native. He called one elderly visiting couple in the courtyard of the Sŏnggyun'gwan to the attention that 'directly behind the walls there is the grave of a revolutionary patriot.

Somehow it felt as if our opinion was under national investigation' (Song Hwagang, 21 September 2009) (Figure 197).

Interestingly, the South Korean visitor generally seems to have taken ideological confrontations lightly. Comments in press articles and visitor blogs tend not to focus on ideological problems with the exhibition, but to the 'shameful poverty' and backwardness of the museum display that has apparently not changed since the museum's opening in 1988. One visitor quotes a fellow tourist who with a laughing voice said that the town seems to be a movie set for the 1960s' (ksparkpagoda 2008). Another noted poor sanitation comparing it to (dirty) China and electricity with Korea in the 1950s. While supposed North Korean backwardness is sometimes romanticized as quaint with attribution of being more pure and traditional, particularly with such things as food and attitudes,³⁵⁹ backwardness and poor facilities in the museum were interpreted as a failure to exhibit pride in Korean history (Figure 198). It permitted South Koreans to feel a sense of superiority:

Compared to our [South Korean] museums, the state of the exhibition is shamefully appalling. As electricity was being saved it was dark, and one light was not enough to illuminate the Koryŏ celadon wares sufficiently. The stone sarcophagus and bronze censer are unprotected from the hands of passing tourists. Despite the exhibition's lack of refinement, the over one thousand artefacts are a stupendous treasure of great value.

(Lee Sŏngwŏn 2008)

³⁵⁹ Some South Korean tourists told me that North Korean dress, food, liquor, cigarettes and sweets reminded them of a Korea in the past that evokes nostalgic and romantic feelings.



Figure 198: The objects of visitors' concern, the stone sarcophagus and bronze censer.

However, it also has to be said that the Kaesŏng tour in general and of the museum in particular, were subject to very last minute changes by the North Korean management (opening of the border crossing, and the cancellation of a site visit to Kwanŭm-sa temple 'due to a damaged path'). During my visit of the museum on a sunny day, there was no obvious sign of saving energy. Other slight variations of the museum experience were for instance that in August 2008 contemporary paintings of Kaesŏng scenic spots were up for sale in the museum's courtyard and a souvenir shop open in the museum complex, which was not the case in early October of the same year. Likewise, during the first tours in 2007, the museum guide would show a map with Kaesŏng's historical and cultural sites, pointing them out with a stick that did not happen later on. It seems though that there was some improvement in the general infrastructure of tourist facilities in the course of times like the quality of food, toilets and availability of buyable products and souvenirs etc. (no explicit mentioning of museum facilities). The poor museum display described in the news article could therefore just be an exceptional case that satisfies public South Korean perceptions and preconceptions of the North.

Kaesŏng Cultural Tourism Questionnaire results (World Research 2008)

Despite the general low value attributes attached by South Koreans towards things North Korean, they appear rather open on a personal level. Predominantly, the South Korean visitors were curious and sometimes eager to engage with their North Korean guides and attendants and to find commonalities with them, many of them engaging in private conversations or joint picture taking. It appears that in the end the memories of these symbolic interactions had a

significant impact on visitors. Indeed, most visitors (52 percent), who took part in the tourist survey stated that their most salient memory of their trip was the chance to see the life of people in North Korea. Many visitors tried to engage the North Korean guides or the many North Korean additional security attendants (to be made out by their black suits) in a conversation. And many took a memorial picture together that shows the exceptional experience accompanied by the realisation of the shared human and Korean nature. However, the division of tourist and local people was noted negatively as controlled, the traditional folk zone e.g. felt as touristic area where local people do not live and interaction was only possible with the guide, the curiously always male security attendants or female vendors. A Japanese tourist (October 2008) remembered being asked by one of the North Korean attendants how he stood to the territorial dispute [between Korea and Japan] of Tokdo Island, reflecting yet another shared Korean concern.

Next most popular were the scenic spots with 25 percent. Despite the travel aim in the same questionnaire resulted to be foremost of leisurely touristic nature (36.8%), with thirty-one percent of the respondents expressing their travel aim as being in the interest of historical culture and research, and only 16.9% for the experience of real North Korea (World Research 2008, 37), the cultural properties of Kaesŏng had a lasting impression on only 7.5 percent of the respondents in the end (World Research 2008, 23).

Unfortunately, there is no way, even superficially, to ascertain the effect of the museum on North Korean visitors. Instigated by the ideological narrative of the nation, it appears that the emotional experience is strongly linked to local popular events. Emotional connection to local events in the Koryŏ Museum is interwoven with ideological symbolism surrounding the figure of Kim Il Sung, whose memory permeates the museum. Following Kim Il Sung's visit, a few books have been published in North Korea about Kaesŏng, probably to make a little money in the Kaesŏng tourism business. I recall one fellow tourist buying two books, *Mount Songaksan* and *Legends from Songdo*, but only flipping through it, dismissing the poor printing quality and content arguing that they are written for tourists, and did not seem to be of great help. Personally I found these books helpful, because they combine legendary accounts and new

stories concerning Kaesŏng.³⁶⁰ While the historic Koryŏ culture and its relics are the setting for these stories, the living memories and emotions of the popular contemporary culture are most skilfully related back to Kim Il Sung's exemplary actions and his visits to the site. This creation of an emotional link between local memories and official state ideological narrative is a cunning development in government propaganda.³⁶¹

The collection of the Koryŏ Museum, not unlike the Korean people, is intrinsically linked to complex understandings of a Korea of one cultural national and two political states. During the Korean War, both the Korean people and the Koryŏ Museum collection were torn apart. For the Korean people this division created a schizophrenic appreciation of state and nation, the logic of which is reflected in the interpretation of the museum and in both governments' aims to unify the Korean peninsula. Both Korean states have promoted cultural interpretations which aim to support both the state and the nation. The state focuses on the people's identity and affiliation to particular ideologies; the nation focuses on a common and unifying Korean identity which can be reached through cultural interpretation and appreciation. It is for this reason that both states are in consensus over the cultural and historical significance of the Koryŏ period based on a shared concept of nationhood and two somewhat opposing state interpretations in relation to the same historical period. Thus, we have a case where the state-sanctioned ideologies challenge and redefine the stasis of encompassing Korean cultural meanings. Accordingly, Korean national culture underlies two layers of dominant ideology that are valid for North and South Korea alike; one that focuses on common national interpretation, and another that stresses the significance of the state.

The Koryŏ theme is an idealised continuation of the cultural nation, because it allows for one-Korean-nation identification on the basis of a shared cultural history. The historical

³⁶⁰ So, for instance, Chosŏn Anthology ed 1999. *Solitary people from Mt Songaksan* (Songaksan-ŭi ūiroun saram-dŭl 송악산의 외로운 사람들), Pyongyang: Pyongyang Publisher; Ri Sŏngdŏk 2002. *Mount Songaksan* (Songaksan 송악산), Kaesŏng: Munhakyesul Publisher; Ri Wŏnhŭi 2002. *Legends from Songdo* (Songdo chŏnsŏl 송도전설), Kaesŏng: Munhakyesul Publisher.

³⁶¹ In the nineteenth century, in contrast, the Kaesŏng gazetteer and official historian Kim T'aegyŏng was caught in an unresolved dilemma between local and official historical 'narrative divisions', where the political agenda of the Chosŏn period would not allow reviving and promoting the historical importance of his home town and precedent capital Kaesŏng (Breuker 2004, 96-7).

significance of Kaesŏng and its numerous relics is a source of pride and interest for all Koreans. Access to the cultural heritage in Kaesŏng had soothed the longing for the right to walk the ground of the country (Korea), expressed in the patriotic idea of *uri nara*, our land.

The Koryŏ Museum exhibition's display and interpretation had not been mitigated between North and South Korean curators and historians so that it provides a platform for the negotiation of multiple national narratives; the Koryŏ Museum is a 'vehicle of memory' which seems to reach beyond the politics of state back to a point of shared origin. It offered the opportunity to come and realize, and possibly deliberate national historical memory, state ideology and individual identity. In this way and for a limited time, the Kaesŏng tours permitted tourism to play an important role in nation-building processes and despite ideological difference, helped ease inter-Korean political tensions. It showed that the concept of the cultural nation is not necessarily confined to the boundaries of the modern nation states.

VI CONCLUSION

VI.I GENERAL IMPLICATIONS: CULTURAL HERITAGE INTERPRETATION BETWEEN STATE AND NATION IDENTITY

The case study of Kaesŏng demonstrates how cultural remains, and the policies and practices evolving around them, can simultaneously mediate overlapping and divergent identities.

Against a background of the two contemporary Korean states, inter-Korean symbols are common identifiers of the bi-focal history and heritage interpretation of the nation and the state (Chapter II.I.). These cultural interpretations are appropriated for national, as well as state, demonstrations of unity and strength: for example, the search for the acceptable national origins (Chapter III.I.i-iii) or, during the Japanese colonial period, the nationalists' attempt to define the essence of the Korean nation (Chapter II.III).

Both modern Korean states have highlighted Korea's glorious past under a cultural nationalistic approach, aimed at proving their continuous and long-standing homogenous development and unique achievements. Although Korean cultural history has been actively employed as evidence for respective state ideological claims, it overwhelmingly stresses a national identity that encompasses the people of the whole Korean peninsula and all Korean history. Yet the apparent unifying symbols of encompassing, homogenous and shared cultural history are quickly undermined when the states, with the same entitlement, compete over the inheritance and (ideological) appropriation of cultural heritage (Chapter III.I.vii).

The inconsistency between nation and state interpretations, and people's belongings was demonstrated, for example, on the artefacts from Kaesŏng now held in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul (Chapter IV.IV.ii). There the objects are displayed as South Korean treasures and are national cultural property. These appear to provoke stronger cultural identifications with the South Korean visitors, than to similar or even better examples seen in the Koryŏ Museum in Kaesŏng. Cultural identifications are not necessarily bound by the objects' (aesthetic or cultural) value *per se*, but by the fact that they belong.

For the Korean population the diverging national interpretations create schizophrenic identifications when encountering ‘their’ cultural heritage presented under the ideological interpretation of the other state: for example, as experienced by South Koreans visiting Kaesŏng (e.g. Chapter V.IV.iii).

The general view holds that popular cultural perceptions are dominated by authoritarian interpretations (often described as propagandistic or manipulative; see Chapters II.III and III). The theoretical and historical analysis of the concept of a Korean cultural nation, as seen through heritage practices in Kaesŏng, indeed demonstrates this dominance of institutional and state ideologies within cultural heritage interpretation (Chapter II.II). Throughout history, the historical and current vicissitudinous interpretations of Kaesŏng’s cultural heritage embody the drama, contradictions, dysfunctions, ongoing tensions and consolidation efforts of the governing state authority and its relationship with the people (Chapters III.I.i-iv & V.II).

In Kaesŏng, the Koryŏ royal tomb of founding king T’aejo Wang Kŏn has probably been the most prominent site of cultural appropriation by the state, used to secure inner and outward political legitimacy and to consolidate national identifications (Chapter III.I.iv-v). Through time the same site has served several different state identifications, but importantly it also saw periods of neglect when its cultural symbolism was incongruous with the aimed state narrative (Chapter III.I.vi).

One of the active tools employed in building or strengthening a national identity is emotions. As discussed in Chapter II.III.iii-v, emotions felt for one’s culture and past were part of the lively Korean nationalists’ debate during the Japanese Colonial period; attempting to outline what constituted the Korean nation and its political aims. Emotions, as shaped through direct family ties, or figuratively as ties to the nation, have been seen in the past and the present: rather obviously in the contemporary North Korean state (see Chapter III.II) or, more subtly, in contemporary personal national perceptions of professionals and tourists (Chapters IV.III.iii & V.IV.ii). Throughout this study it has become clear that Korean cultural context clearly outlines how the socio-cultural concept of ‘nation’ does not necessarily coincide with the political concept of ‘state’. However, state ideology readily employs the idea of a cultural nation in order to build and strengthen a communal sentiment of its people.

Nonetheless, the authoritarian interpretation process is also shaped by local or popular interpretations of cultural heritage and its symbols. Political, societal and cultural developments have always been, and continue to be, complex interactions. This was exemplified on the evolution of meanings associated to the bridge Sŏnjukkyo (Chapter V.II.ii). Against initial state disfavour, the bridge, the site of a loyalist martyr of the preceding dynasty, became the place for newly appointed local officials to demonstrate their loyalty to the state. Making an example of state consolidation and nation-building, in 1740 the Chosŏn King Yŏngjo showed his respect and care for Chŏng Mongju at Sŏnjukkyo bridge, and used the positive political message to engage a minority people and boost pride in their (family) past. In opposition to Japanese domination at the very beginning of the twentieth century, the symbolic manifestation of loyalty to the state turned into a sacrificial act of patriotism for the Korean nation (Chapter V.II.iii). Thus throughout Korean cultural history, cultural production, re-interpretation, and policy have been subjected to the socio-cultural realities of a given time (Chapter II.III.i).

Eric Hobsbawm, in his essay *Looking forward: History and the future*, encourages historians to ‘be careful to distinguish predictions based on analysis from those based on desire’ (Hobsbawm 1997, 54). Drawing conclusions from my analysis of cultural heritage interpretations in Kaesŏng, I am aware that it has a specific scope and is guided by a desire for rapprochement. Nevertheless, I believe it reveals a new approach to rapprochement policies, raising awareness of the political implications for cultural heritage practices, as well as the latter liability to political trends. These issues are currently little acknowledged by (Korean) archaeologists and heritage professionals.

Recurrent in history, political predicaments, as for instance foreign domination, loss of powerful alliances and factional strives, entail a reemphasize of cultural interpretations to help shape a new identity (Chapters II.III, III.I.i-iii and V.II).

Also in Korea’s divided ideologies of the past century, the dominant efforts to legitimise respective political agendas have had an impact on the interpretation of, and the choice of focus within, cultural heritage and history (Chapters II.I, IV.III and V.IV.ii-iii). Cultural heritage policies are part of this particular historical narrative, reflected in heritage interpretations and activities. Whereas socio-political studies of unification focus on a territorial unification of states, an approach stemming from cultural heritage has the potential advantage of being able to focus on congruence through common roots, views of history and cultural values, as exemplified in the concept of the *Kulturnation* (Chapters II.I.i-II.I.iv & II.III). A deliberative shift of focus from state, with its preoccupation with territorial state sovereignty, to new concerns about cultural ways of life (Han 1998, 156) could be a prerequisite for national self-respect and solidarity.

Engagement through shared national culture is an important practical application, challenging and complicating the current political rhetoric of the nation and economical rapprochement policies. The reality of Kaesŏng’s economic and tourist development, in addition to opening the way for designation as a UNESCO World Heritage site, allowed for Korean cross-border tourism (Chapters V.I, V.III.i-ii & V.IV.ii-iii) and joint Korean excavations (Chapter IV.III). These provided a unique chance to observe the potential Kaesŏng’s cultural heritage holds:

they enabled me to observe planning processes and to explore the attempts to revise Korean understandings of history and common nationhood.

Cultural heritage has not been, and will not to be, the major player in rapprochement politics practiced in South or North Korea. However, as a medium for collective memory and reflection, it can be a useful tool of rapprochement. As highlighted in my Interaction Model *Heritage as a Rapprochement tool* (Figure 5), cultural heritage meanings are an ever-changing conglomerate comprising past and present historical and political events' interpretation and evaluations. Although demonstrating the hegemony of political interpretations shaping historical and cultural narratives, the model also makes a good point to the possible influence cultural heritage in turn can have on political and social change, in this case rapprochement.

As the recent joint cultural activities have shown, cultural cooperation and focusing on the same aim can help to reconcile conflicted parties (Chapters IV & V.IV.ii-iii). In the case of inter-Korean cultural heritage activities, the possible role of cultural heritage in developing solidarity and rapprochement is dependent on the balance between traditional cultural heritage narratives and their contemporary perception and ideological connotations. The convergence of these diverse and shared interpretations offers the first steps in mutual recognition and rapprochement.

A revised vision of common history and heritage evaluation, one based on the acceptance of diversity, will spur the aspired political aim of rapprochement. It requires amendments and policy instruments to enable heritage integration and reinterpretation.

VI.II.1 PROBLEMS OF CURRENT CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTIVITIES AIMED AT RAPPROCHEMENT

However, current Korean cultural heritage and rapprochement policies seem to share some common problems:

- 1) There is a tendency to regard access as the main obstacle to inter-Korean cooperation, whereas there are other significant issues to overcome, such as internal state prejudices and inflexible interpretative perspectives vis-à-vis the brother-state (Chapters II.I.iii-vi & II.II).
- 2) Joint Korean activities and events are short-lived, with little knowledge overflow. As argued in Chapter IV.III.iii, the repetition of cooperation, to resolve initial differentiation and secure stronger inter-personal bonds and trust, is needed.
- 3) In order to address the question of what rapprochement is, and how it should be accomplished, there is still a sense of socio-cultural supremacy underlying current approaches. There needs to be recognition of diversity and deliberative dialogue.

VI.II.II CALL FOR CHANGES IN CURRENT CULTURAL HERITAGE ACTIVITIES FOR RAPPROCHEMENT

In order to foster understanding, there is a need

- 1) to develop the history of diversity.

One of the calls of this thesis (e.g. Chapters II.I.iv, IV.III.iii & IV.IV.ii), which is particularly directed at the states and heritage professionals is further

- 2) to increase self-reflectivity and acceptance of diverse cultural and ideological interpretations in place, e.g. by publicly addressing the issues and invite for discussion.

Through people's experience, emotions or newly gained knowledge, they are open to more than one cultural interpretation. They may feel obliged, however, to retreat to prescribed interpretations and norms of behaviour under social or political pressure, as observed during the last joint excavation in Kaesŏng following a period of inter-Korean political tensions (Chapter IV.III.ii). There is thus a necessity

- 3) to converge political and cultural interests around a project, and to consolidate communication building under coherent and consistent cultural policies.

Having looked at history and assessed the present, rather than a prediction for the future, there is a call for continued action. To a degree, the cooperation between the two Koreas already showed a positive trend in the consolidation of interests and communication. Although heavily regulated by political agendas, recent joint Korean excavations in Kaesŏng, and one-day tourism tours for South Koreans to the site, provided an unique chance to observe the beginning of historical reflection on contested, compromised and shared cultural interpretations. For a time, the convergence of diverse and shared interpretations provided the first steps towards mutual recognition and acknowledgement. Further enhancing cultural inter-Korean cooperation, and improving the weaknesses discussed above, would be an indicator of the Korean states' political conviction to rapprochement and recognition of the constructive input cultural heritage could have on rapprochement politics.

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- ____ 1934.12.05. Koryŏ period pagoda kept in a private garden. On the grounds of preservation issues it was ordered to be moved to the Kaesŏng Museum in the coming spring (個人庭園에 保存된 高麗朝의 美術塔 총독부에 교섭하여 내년 봄에 開城博物館에 移建’).
- ____ 1935.11.26. Flowing water at memorial stele for Koryŏ loyal subject Chŏng P’oŭn (*Koryŏ ch’ungsin Chŏng P’oŭn pisok eso ryusu* 高麗忠臣 鄭圃隱碑石에서 流水).
- ____ 1937.06.11. One-hundred-two proud historical relics permanently preserved (찬란한 력사의 유물 102 점 영구히보존).
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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE

TIMELINE OF THE CHOSŎN PERIOD

Date	Heritage Activities	Heritage organisations & laws	Socio-political interaction with 'cultural heritage'	Socio-political situation, event
1392	Yi Sŏnggye moved a 'cast statue' of T'aejo to the district Majŏn-gun in between the old capital Kaesŏng and the new capital Seoul		(*) Assassination of Chŏng Mongju on Sŏnjukkyo bridge after which bamboo grew out of his blood	Founding of the Chosŏn dynasty under Yi Sŏnggye
1399				Move of the capital from Seoul to Kaesŏng
1405				Move of the capital from Kaesŏng to Seoul
1427	Request to bury 3 portrait paintings of T'aejo and other portraits of merit subjects			
1428	King Sejong consented to bury several paintings and a cast statue of T'aejo and other portraits of Koryŏ rulers near their respective tombs			
1433	18 more Koryŏ portraits were buried			
1455				Usurpation of king Tanjong (r. 1452-1455) by his uncle King Sejo (r. 1455-1468)
1477			Scholar-official Yu Hoin visits Kaesŏng's sites and writes a travelogue	

1485			Scholar-official Nam Hyoon visits Kaesŏng's sites and writes a travelogue	
1573	Kaesŏng <i>Yusu</i> Nam Ŭngun founded the Confucian academic institution, and ancestral shrine Sungyang-sŏwŏn in Chŏng Mongju's former residence			
1592			King Sŏnjo ordered to give a ritual to the Koryŏ royal as well as Wang clan subjects' tombs	Japanese Invasion
1596	Sŏngyŏwan Yuhŏbi stele installed next to Sŏnjukkyo in remembrance of 'sad event'			
>1605	Kaesŏng born calligrapher Sŏkbong Hanho incises a memorial stele next to Sŏnjukkyo			
1641	Following his promotion to a <i>yusu</i> position Mok Sŏhŭm donated a stone stele erected in remembrance of Chŏng Mong-ju			
1644	King Hyŏnchong had put up entry prohibition signs 200 feet to prevent farming and herding in the precincts of the Koryŏ royal tombs, ordered to repair the T'aejo tomb and installed 3 people for its care taking			
1671			Kim Ch'anhyŏp visits to Kaesŏng sites and writes a travelogue	
1693	King Sukjong visits Kaesŏng and inscribes a memorial stone in praise of Chŏng-Mongju next to Sŏnjukkyo as well as having a memorial stele on a turtle base (3.65m high) placed in front of the			

	Mokchongjön hall			
1728				regional uprisings culminating in the Musillan uprising of 1728
1729			scholar official O Wŏn visits to Kaesŏng sites and writes a travelogue , on 4 April, Chong Mongju's death anniversary he deeply moved visits Sŏnjukkyo bridge	
1730	King Yŏngjo had illegal burials in the area of royal tombs removed and grass planted to conserve and improve the tombs circumference	King Yŏngjo installed fee and exile punishments for illegal burials and farming on the royal tomb ground		
1740	King Yŏngjo inscribes a memorial stone in praise of Chŏng-Mongju next to Sŏnjukkyo		King Yŏngjo is the first king to visit the Sŏnjukkyo bridge and the Puyohyŏn village where Koryŏ loyalists lived	
1780	Chŏng heirs, Yusu Chŏng Hoin 鄭好仁, acted for the protection of the Sŏnjukkyo bridge, restored and blocked the bridge installing stone railings			
1796	prominent Kaesŏng citizen Cho Kwan-jin had a second stone bridge built just next to Sŏnjukkyo			
1797	Erection of memorial stone by Cho Chingwan after becoming Kaesŏng-bu yusu, praising the virtuous conduct of chief clerk Noksa Kim Kyŏngjo loyally			

1811	dying with Chǒng Mongju Chǒng Mongju sǒwǒn-stele installed in the Sungyang-sǒwǒn			
1818	Scholar Cho Chong-yǒng recorded a total of 57 Koryǒ tombs, of which he attributed 41 to Kaesǒng		King Sunjo had prominent scholars write reports about royal tombs	
1824	Erection of memorial stone for Chǒng Mongju			
1856	King Kojong implanted a conservation programme overview of the condition of the royal tombs in the Kaesǒng area and had tombstone markers built	King Kojong ordered a regulation to examine Koryǒ royal tombs once every 3 years		
1871				Lord Taewǒngun closed down most of the country's Confucian sǒwǒn institutes
1872	King Kojong installs his memorial stone for Chǒng Mongju next to King Yǒngjo's Kisilpi stele installed in the Sungyang-sǒwǒn celebrating its reopening			
1874	P'yoch'ung pigak protective pavilion with surrounding walls was built for two royal stele next to Sǒnjukkyo			
1876	King Kojong had T'aejo's tomb restored and a record stele built			Japan pushes Kanghwa Amity treaty that results in the opening of Korean ports to foreigners
1883				
1884				Kapsin Coup that initiated the Taehan Cheguk period (1884-1907)
1894				Kabo Reform (1894-96) in response to the Tonghak Peasant Rebellion
1895				End of the Sino-Japanese War. Due to China's defeat it loses its suzerain status over Korea (Treaty of

				Shimonoseki 17 April).
1896			The first edition of <i>Tongnip Sinmun</i> (The independent) published by So Chae-pil as the official publication of the Tongnip hyop hoe (Association for independence), it was Korea's first non-governmental newspaper and all printed in Hangŭl, dissolved in 1889 (7 April)	Independence Club activities (1896-98)
1897				King Kojong appoints himself as emperor and promulgates the Taehan Empire (on Jap. Pressure to symbolise the cancellation of Korean submission to the Chinese Empire)
1898			Publication of newspaper <i>Hwangŏng Sinmun</i> (Capital Gazette until 1910)	
1902	Mokchongjŏn ancestral hall for the deceased Chosŏn king Yi Sŏnggye was reconstructed with a remembrance hall, and servant quarters (May), inaugurated October 1			
1904			Publication of newspaper Taehan <i>Maeil Sinbo</i> (Korea Daily News until 1910)	
1905				Korea becomes Japanese protectorate signing the Japanese-Korean Treaty of Protection

* more mythical and legendary accounts are indexed with (*)

TIMELINE OF THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE KOREAN WAR

Date	Heritage Activities	Heritage organisation & laws	Socio-political interaction with 'cultural heritage'	Socio-political situation, event
1910	Jap. Survey of Korean cultural material remains			Japan takes over state control 4 months prior to annexation (23 April)
1911			Republications of Kaesŏng history works: <i>Chunggyŏngji</i> by the official Kim I-jae (金履載 1767-1847) and <i>Koryŏ kodojing</i> by Han Chae-yŏm (韓在濂 1775-1818).	
1916		<i>Old places and ancient remains conservation rule</i> (July)		
1919				Paris Peace Conference (Jan) March First Movement of Independence (1 March)
1931	Inauguration of the Kaesŏng Provincial Museum(1 Oct)			
1933		Chosŏn General Governour postulates <i>Korean cultural treasure, relics, scenic spots and natural beauty preservation law</i>		
1945				Korean Liberation Day (15 Aug)
1946		Promulgation of <i>Treasure, Historical Remains, Scenic spots and Natural Monument Preservation Law</i> and foundation of <i>Relics Conservation Committee</i> (29 April)	Kim Il Sung's public speech (issue 17 of 20), <i>Planning the active prosperity of National Culture</i> (23 March) Kim Il Sung speech <i>Cultural people must battle at front</i> (24 May) Kim Il Sung speech <i>The current state in the process of democratisation and the duty of Cultural people</i> (26 Sept)	

1947	Building of Provincial Museums First excavations in the capital area of Pyongyang			
1948		Extension of previous committee to the newly named <i>Chosŏn Central Committee of Material Culture Preservation</i> (1 November)		ROK and DPRK are established
1949	First excavations of Koguryŏ tombs at Anak. According to DPRK sources the US army loots the Kaesŏng museum (18 June)* Publication of Journal <i>Munhwa yumul</i> (Cultural relics), discontinued after 2nd Vol in 1950	DPRK cabinet proclaims (No 100) <i>Regulations of Material Culture Artefacts Conservation</i> (Aug) Kim Il Sung's speech <i>National cultural heritage needs to be well preserved</i> (15 October)	Publication of the <i>Chosŏn Minjok Haebang Tuchang-sa</i> (History of the Korean People's Struggle for Liberation)	
1950				Official start of the Korean War (25 June)
1951	Rescue burial of national treasures from the Kaesŏng Museum before escape to the South (December)			
1952	Opening of the Koryŏ Museum (Jan)	Founding of the Archaeology Research Institute under the Social Science Department		

* more mythical and legendary accounts are indexed with (*)

TIMELINE OF THE MODERN PERIOD

Date	Heritage Activities	Heritage organisations & laws	Socio-political interaction with 'cultural heritage' *	Socio-political situation, event *
1953		Establishment of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology under the Academy of Science, DPRK	visit of Kim Il Sung to Kaesŏng (Manwŏltae site, (Aug)	Signing of the Korean War Truce (July)
1954	Reconstruction of the <i>chŏngchagak</i> of Koryŏ T'aejo's tomb and the Yi Sŏnggye Mokchongŭn memorial hall (November).		visit of Kim Il Sung to Kaesŏng, Sŏnjukkyo bridge (Dec.)	
1955	Publication Series of excavation reports by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (14 Vols. until 1964)			On a visit to Moscow Kim Il Sung was asked to reduce the personality cult in the DPRK (May)
1956	Cultural Relic Conservation Committee excavation of the tomb mound of King Kongmin (July-Dec.) and restoration by the Kaesŏng Planning Research Institute and Kaesŏng City Building Institute			Khrushchev denounced Stalin personality cult (25 Feb) Soviet Foreign Ministry notes in a report a continued 'Cult of Personality in the DPRK' (April) DPRK Third Party Congress (April) DPRK internal party struggle 'Crisis of August 1956'
1957	Beginning of publications: <i>munhwa yusan</i> (-1962), <i>Yujŏk palgulpogo</i> , <i>kogohak charyojip</i> Discovery of ancient brass daggers in Kaep'ung-gun Taeryŏn-li		visit of Kim Il Sung to Kaesŏng for a couple of days, Namdaemun, Kongmin tomb, Pakyŏn, Kwanŭmsa temple, Taehŭngsan-sŏng (Aug)	
1958			Kim Il Sung's speech <i>About the good preservation of historical relics and old artefacts</i> (30 April)	DPRK First Party Conference (March 3-6)
1959	Purilsa temple survey and opening of pagodas (June 16- 25)	"Cabinet order 92" on restoration and excavation work after the Korean War		
1961	Publication of <i>Chosŏn wonshi kogohak</i> (Prehistoric Archaeology in Korea) by To Yu-ho			DPRK Fourth Party Congress of the Korean Workers' Party (Pyongyang Sept. 11-18)

1963	Journal <i>kogo minsok</i> replaces <i>munhwa yusan</i> (-1967) Discovery of a Chosŏn period tomb in Kaep'ung-gun Sinseong-li	Management of cultural relics was transferred from the Ministry of Culture to the Ministry of the Interior (Feb)		
1964		Reorganisation of the Academy of Science into independent subgroups, incl. The Academy of Social Sciences <i>On improving Party Guidance relating to the Preservation of historical sites and relics</i> (Sept. 16) addressing the Propaganda and Agitation Dep)		
1968			Kim Jong Il's visit to Kaesŏng's historical sites (August)	
1970		<i>On proper evaluation and Treatment Of the Cultural Heritage of our Nation</i> Talk to the Propaganda and Agitation Dep. Of the Central Committee (March 4)		
1972	Rock inscription of poem 'The mother of Chosŏn' at Pakyŏn Fall on the 80 th anniversary of Kang Pansŏk, mother of Kim Il Sung (April)	New Principle Law (No 37) <i>The socialist reality of Harmony between Heritage and Development</i>	visit of Kim Il Sung to Kaesŏng to check on the preservation improvements of Namdaemun Gate and Sŏnju kkyo bridge (autumn)	Founding of Joint Communiqué for Inter-Korean contacts policy of peaceful unification (July 4) Declaration of DPRK's new constitution based on Self-Reliance (<i>Chuch'e</i>)
1973	Excavation of castle walls and architecture at Manwŏltae Palace (-1974)			
1977	Publication of the introductory textbook of Korean archaeology <i>Chosŏn kogohak kaejo</i>			The DPRK believe Korea cannot be reunited peacefully, and reaches out to other socialist nations to gain support for its 4-point proposals. They include references to the DPRK developing nuclear power and the possibility of nuclear war on the Korean peninsula.
1978	Archaeological Research Institute excavates in Kaep'un-gun Konam-li the tombs of King Chŏngjong (July 26- Aug 3) and King Sinjong			

1979	Beginning of publication of 33 Vols <i>Chosŏn chonsa</i> on Korean history and archaeology Discovery of an ancient bronze dagger (Dec)			
1980		Jan: Designation of Koryŏ Museum trees as natural heritage	UNESCO publication on DPRK Cultural Policy	
1982	Rock inscription of poem 'We pray for a long and healthy life for the Great Leader' at Pakyŏn Fall on the 70 th birthday anniversary of Kim Il Sung (April)			
1983		<i>The correct way to improve and nurture the succession of national cultural heritage</i> decree by the People Committee (Dec 8)		
1985	Archaeological Research Institute excavates the water reservoir/ pond and subterranean channel system at Manwŏltae palace (July -end of Oct)	DPRK Presidential decree 35 <i>On the strengthening of preservation and maintenance of cultural sites and relics</i>		
1986	Start of quarterly journal <i>Chosŏn kogo yŏn'gu</i>			
1988	Move of the Koryŏ Museum to its current location (March)			ROK sets up 'Council to promote Exchanges and Cooperation between North and South Korea' Guidelines for Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation are forged (12 June)
1989				Dissolution of the Eastern Bloc (autumn) and opening of the frontier between FDR and GDR (9 Nov)

* more mythical and legendary accounts are indexed with (*)

TIMELINE FROM 1990 UNTIL PRESENT

Date	Heritage Activities	Heritage organisations & laws	Socio-political interaction with 'cultural heritage' *	Socio-political situation, event *
1990				Roh Tae Woo Government announces the five basic principles to activate North-South Cultural exchanges (Feb) Dissolution of the USSR (March-Dec 1991) Promulgation of <i>Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation Act</i> (Aug) First Inter-Korean Prime Ministerial Talks (Sept)
1991			Joint agreement on socio-cultural exchanges in article 9,12,14 &16	ROK and DPRK become UN members (Sept)
1992	Discovery of T'aejo sculpture (Oct)	Upon a visit, Kim Il Sung ordered the rebuilding of T'aejo's tomb	Kim Il Sung officially visits the Koryŏ Museum (5 May)	
1993	End of Excavation and Rebuilding of T'aejo's tomb; original tomb sculptures brought to the Koryŏ Museum	<i>The correct way to improve and nurture the succession of national cultural heritage</i> by the People Committee (Dec)	(*) After receiving the report of the finished renovation of T'aejo's tomb, Kim Il Sung wrote a poem, now inscribed on the tomb stele	
1994	Stele erected in front of newly renovated tomb of T'aejo (Jan)	<i>Law on cultural relics preservation of the DPRK</i> (April)	(*) A man conveyed Kim Il Sung a royal seal and the genealogical records of T'aejo's family as he would be the legitimate successor to T'aejo. (June)	Kim Il Sung's death (8 July)
1995		Enforcement Regulations on cultural relics preservation law (July)		
1997			Unification Culture Research Centre of ROK daily JoongAng Ilbo receives permission to collect data on historic relics and to present them in ROK (Dec)	Kim Jong Il becomes General Secretary of the Korean Workers Party (Oct)

1998	Beginning of Yōngt'ongsa temple excavation and restoration, partly in cooperation with a Jap. team			Hyundai founder Chung and his fifth son Chung Mung-Hun visit Pyongyang
2000			Circulation of translations of <i>Convention for the protection of World Culture and Natural Heritage</i> and the <i>Guide to carrying out the World Heritage Convention</i>	On his state visit to Germany ROK president Kim Dae Jung holds his famous Berlin Speech at Free University on <i>Lessons of German Reunification and the Korean peninsula</i> (9 March) North-South Korean Summit in Pyongyang (13-15 June)
2003			Translation of a UNESCO leaflet titled <i>World Heritage in Young Hands</i> was circulated (Dec)	
2004	Korean Joint excavation in the KIZ (April 20-May 6, June 24- July 31)		Korean consensus on the 'history of the nation' and the formation of the 'Council of Historians on the History of North and South Korea' during a joint seminar in Pyongyang on the subject of return of cultural assets taken by the Jap. Colonialists (Feb)	
2005			Meeting of the North-South joint scholars in concern of the promotion of Korean World Cultural Heritage (November)	Hyundai chairman Hyōn Jōngūn and Kim Jong Il consent over an agreement for tourism in Mt. Paektusan and Kaesōng (July) 17th inter-Korean ministerial meetings (Dec 13-16)
2006			Exhibition of North Korean cultural relics in Seoul and Taegu (June 13- Oct 26)	18th inter-Korean ministerial meetings (April 21-24)
2007	Korean Joint excavation at Manwōltae palace (May 15-July 13) and (September-October)		Opening of 1-day tourist tours from Seoul to Kaesōng (Dec 5)	
2008	Korean Joint excavation at Manwōltae palace (Nov-Dec)		Border closure and end of Kaesōng tourist tours (Nov)	Lee Myung-bak becomes new ROK president (Feb)
2010	Korean Joint excavation at Manwōltae palace (March-May)			

* more mythical and legendary accounts are indexed with (*)

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR ARCHAEOLOGISTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN KAESŎNG JOINT EXCAVATIONS

Respondents to the questionnaire (orally and written):

Ch'oi Hyŏnggyun 최형균. 4 November 2010, Email reply to questionnaire

Jeong Na-Ri 정나리. 7 April 2009, interview

Kim Sŏngjun 김성준. 7 April 2009, interview

Nam Ch'anggŭn 남창근. 22 November 2010, Email reply to questionnaire

Pak Tongsŏn 박동선. 3 December 2010, Email reply to questionnaire

Park Sung Jin 박성진. 2008-2010, Conversations

Yu Pyŏnglin 유병린, 21 October 2010, Email reply to questionnaire

Yun Sŏngyŏng 윤성영, 27 Oct 2010, Email reply to questionnaire

Questionnaire 질문지

1: 발굴조사를 추진하게 된 이유와 계기는 무엇입니까?

개인적인 기대와 호기심은 무엇입니까? (대외적인 이유와 함께 처음에 발굴을 계획하신 분들의 개인적인 이유나 계기 같은 것도 알려주시면 좋을 듯합니다)

2: 문화재 조사를 실시하는 과정에서 남, 북한이 공식적으로 합의한 내용은 어떤 것이 있으며, 어떠한 원칙 (예를 들어 한국의 문화재보호법)을 기본으로 합의가 이루어지고, 현장조사가 이루어 졌습니까?

3: 북한측과의 대화는 어떻게 이루어졌습니까?

(전제 공단사업과 별개로 문화재조사와 관련된 부분이 있으면, 더 설명해 주시면 좋구요, 대외적인 책임자와 내부적으로 대화내용을 이끌었던 분들은 어떤 분들인지 설명해 주시면 좋을 듯 합니다)

북한 참사 3 분이 누구와 무엇을 통제하고 이런 중제는 공동사업이나 사귀기를 방해합니까?

4: 현장에서의 일상은 어떠했습니까? 하루의 일과와 담당했던 일 (지휘 계통)에 대해서 설명해 주십시오.

조사과정마다 비슷하니 남북한 조사단관계는 바꿨어요? (2007, 2008, 2010 발굴비교)

5: 북한의 발굴 체계는 남한과는 다른- 비슷한 점이 무엇입니까? (발굴조사의 방법, 인부를 쓰기, 하.상급자 관계, 장비, 역사성, 분류, 문화유물보호법..) 논의나 타협이 있었습니까?

북한 보고서를 읽어봐십니까?

6: 남북한의 합의 내용 중 실제로 적용하는데 어려웠던 점은 어떤 것들이 있었습니까? 또 조사과정에서 경험하신 긍정적인 점 (북한 조사팀과의 관계에서) 은 어떤 것이 있었습니까? 조사과정에서 북한 조사단의 변화를 확인하신 것이 있다면, 어떤 것이었는지요? 또 발굴조사와 관련된 구체적인 변화가 있다면 어떤 것이었는지요?

7: 조사과정에서 발견된 자료가 한국고고학의 범위를 넓히는데 어떻게 기여했다고 생각하십니까?(학문적인 것 뿐 아니라 미래에 어떤 영향을 가져 올 수 있다고 생각하십니까?) 개성도시는 UNESCO 세계 문화 유산이 되는 계획이 어떻게 생각하십니까?

8: 조사과정에서 개인적으로 북한 조사단과 친해질 수 있는 기회가 있었는지요? 이외에 조사과정에서 인상 깊었던 것이 있다면, 예를 들어 개인적인 추억, 인상적인 장면 등등, 설명해 주십시오.

북한 조사단의 식사와 잠자리는 어디였어요?

9: 개성남북공동발굴조사경험으로 북한에 대한 인식이 (고고학, 사학, 인민, 학자, ‘우리 민족’, 통일문제…) 어떻게 변하셨습니까? 북한 동료에서 무엇을 배우셨습니까?

10: 개성 남북공동발굴조사 중 가장 기억에 남은 것은 무엇입니까?